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Papers

of the

American Society of Church History

Second Series

Volume IV.

Reports and Papers of the Annual Meetings of the Society Held in New York City Dec. 31, 1912, and Dec. 30, 1913, Respectively

Edited by

William Walker Rockwell

Secretary

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CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY[1]

I.

This Society shall be called The American Society of Church History.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of studies in the department of Church History.

III.

The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, who shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting.

No President shall be elected to succeed himself.

These officers, the ex-Presidents and two other members to be elected annually, shall constitute the Council, of which three shall be the quorum.

The Council may fill vacancies until the next annual meeting.

IV.

The duties of the persons just named shall be respectively as follows:

The President, or in his absence the Vice-President, shall preside at all meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary president from the members present.

The Secretary shall notify the members at least two weeks in advance of each meeting, keep the minutes, and conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council.

[1] As amended December 30, 1913.

The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all annual members, take charge of the funds of the Society, and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the Society including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, the arrangement of programs, the determination of papers to be published, and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts. The Secretary may, however, enroll the name of any library as a member on payment of its dues.

V.

The members shall be either active or sustaining. The annual fee for active members shall be Three Dollars; for sustaining members, Ten Dollars. On payment of One Hundred Dollars at any one time any member may become a life-member exempt from fees.

VI.

One copy of each of the publications of the Society, issued after their election, shall be sent to all life-members, and to all other members not in arrears for more than two years; but libraries shall be expected to pay dues only for those years in which the Society publishes a volume.

VII.

The Society shall meet annually at such time and place as the Council may determine. Special meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

VIII.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided that notice of such amendment shall be given at the preceding annual meeting, or the amendment itself shall be approved by the Council before the meeting at which it shall be voted upon.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE REORGANIZED AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

THE Society held its sixth annual and seventh public meeting in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York on Tuesday, December 31, 1912.

Morning Session

Present: Messrs. Ayer, Christie, Corwin, Faulkner, Good, Howland, Lyttle, Nichols, Reed, Severance, Spieker, Curtis H. Walker, Williston Walker, Weber, and the Secretary, also six guests, including the Rev. Vernon Stauffer later elected to membership.

Vice-President Ayer called the meeting to order at 10.15 A.M. Prayer was offered by former President Corwin.

The Secretary read the Presidential address prepared by the late Samuel Macauley Jackson, entitled "A Humanist of the Ninth Century, Servatus Lupus." The second paper was read by George Frederick Spieker,[1] "Vergerius and Protestant Tendencies among the Roman Prelates of the Sixteenth Century." The paper was discussed by Messrs. Good, Rockwell, Walker, and Christie.

Williston Walker read a paper by Champlin Burrage, entitled "New Light on the Origin of the 'Scattered Flock' and the Beginnings of Quakerism." In the subsequent dis-

[1] Died September 7, 1913.

cussion, Messrs. Christie, Williston Walker, and Faulkner took part.

The Vice-President arranged that a meeting of the Council should assemble after luncheon. Eighteen members and guests attended the luncheon, which was held at one o'clock in the Commons of Columbia University.

Afternoon Session

Present: Messrs. Ayer, Christie, Corwin, Faulkner, Good, Howland, Lyttle, Nichols, Reed, Severance, Spieker, C. H. Walker, Williston Walker, Weber, and the Secretary, also three guests, including Messrs. Hesselgrave and Margrander later elected to membership.

At half-past two, John Alfred Faulkner read a paper on "Luther and Toleration." Messrs. Weber, Williston Walker, Ayer, Severance, and Christie participated in the discussion.

The second paper of the afternoon was by Richard Clark Reed on "A Sketch of the Religious History of the Negroes in the South." It was discussed by Messrs. Rockwell, Corwin, and Weber.

The closing paper was by Charles Harold Lyttle, "Presuppositions Regarding the Stigmata of Francis of Assisi," which was discussed by Mr. Weber.

In the business meeting which ensued the Secretary reported the various items of business enumerated below.

The Council has to-day elected the following scholars to membership in the Society: Curtis H. Geer, Charles M. Jacobs, John H. Logan, David S. Schaff, H. Morse Stephens.

Volume III. of the *Papers* was published on the 15th of October. In accordance with the vote of the Society at the last annual meeting, the Secretary sent review copies to a carefully selected list of American and foreign periodicals. He also caused to be printed advertising circulars describing the series.

As requested by the resolution adopted a year ago and directed to the State Historian, Hon. James A. Holden, the State of New York has made an appropriation for indexing the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, the work to be done by Edward Tanjore Corwin.

During the past two years the membership of the Society has increased fifty per cent., that is from sixty to ninety. These figures do not include the members chosen to-day. So far as the Secretary is aware but one member, Dr. Samuel Macauley Jackson, has died during the past two years.

The Society gave its formal approval to the plan of the late Dr. Jackson as laid down in the circular which he issued in March, 1912, concerning the continuance of the publication of the translation of the *Latin Works, etc., of Zwingli* under the auspices of this Society and under the editorship of its present Secretary.[1] It was, however, voted that this should not be considered a publication of the Society, as in that case the Constitution would demand its free distribution to all members. It was further voted that the Society should assume no financial responsibility whatever for the undertaking.

As required in Paragraph VIII of the Constitution, the Secretary gave notice that at the next meeting of the Society he would call for a vote on two amendments, namely, the addition to Article IV of the words:

"The Secretary may, however, enroll the name of any library as a member on payment of its dues"; the substitution in Article VI for the words "and to all libraries subscribing three dollars annually," of "but libraries shall be expected to pay dues only for those years in which the Society publishes a volume."

[1] *The Latin Works and the Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli, together with Selections from his German Works.* Edited, with introductions and notes, by Samuel Macauley Jackson. Translations by Henry Preble, Walter Lichtenstein, and Lawrence A. McLouth. Volume one: 1510–1522; New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912; pp. xv., 292.

On nomination from the Council the following officers were elected by the Society:

President: Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.

Vice-President: James Isaac Good.

Treasurer and Secretary: William Walker Rockwell.

Elected Members of the Council: John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson. To the Council belong also, in virtue of Article III of the Constitution, the *Former Presidents:* Williston Walker, Henry Eyster Jacobs, Francis Albert Christie, Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Edward Tanjore Corwin.

Treasurer's Report, 1912

Receipts:		
Balance from S. M. Jackson, Treasurer	$174.63	
Dues for past years	13.00	
Dues for 1912	247.60	
Dues for 1913	3.00	
Net proceeds sales of *Papers*	19.47	
Special subscriptions toward reprinting Volume I	200.00	
		$657.70
Expenditures:		
Exchange on checks	$ 1.20	
Postage and supplies	15.50	
Printing and stationery	51.95	
First half cost of Volume III	258.94	
Typewriting	11.55	
Total Disbursements	$339.14	
Bank balance as of Dec. 28, 1912	318.56	
		$657.70

The following subscriptions toward reprinting Volume I have been received: S. M. Jackson, $115; W. W. Rockwell, $10; E. K. Mitchell, $5; E. B. Coe, $10; H. C. Vedder, $10; H. B. Washburn, $10; W. Walker, $10; Barr Ferree, $10; F. A. Christie, $10; A. D. Severance, $10: total $200.

A vote of thanks to Union Seminary for its hospitality was unanimously adopted. At six o'clock the Society adjourned. Its members dined at the Faculty Club of Columbia University.

Evening Session

The Jackson Memorial Meeting

A meeting in memory of Dr. Samuel Macauley Jackson was held at eight o'clock, with President Ayer and thereafter former President Christie in the chair.

The Secretary announced that the Council had just elected to membership the Rev. Charles E. Hesselgrave, Ph.D., and Ernest C. Margrander, D.C.

Memorial Papers were presented by the Secretary, by David Schley Schaff (read by the Secretary), by George William Gilmore, and by James Isaac Good. Informal remarks were made by Edward Tanjore Corwin, Charles Colebrook Sherman, and Francis Albert Christie.

At nine-fifteen the final session of the Sixth Annual Meeting adjourned.

Wm. Walker Rockwell,
Secretary.

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE REORGANIZED SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

THE Society held its seventh annual and eighth public meeting in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, on Tuesday, December 30, 1913.

Morning Session

Nineteen members were present, namely, Messrs. Ayer, Carter, Case, Christie, Faulkner, Good, Hesselgrave, C. M. Jacobs, E. P. Johnson, Loetscher, E. W. Miller, Nichols, Schaff, Severance, Stout, W. Walker, Washburn, Weber, and the Secretary, also ten guests including Professor Emerton, later elected to membership.

President Ayer called the meeting to order at 10.15 A.M. Prayer was offered by Edward Payson Johnson. The Presidential address by Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., was "On the Medieval National Church." It was discussed by Messrs. Emerton, Schaff, Rockwell, Severance, and Carter.

The second paper was read by Henry James Weber, "The Victory of Henry IV at Canossa."

The Secretary announced that the Library of the Union Theological Seminary had put on exhibition some of the more important recent books and foreign periodicals dealing with Church History for inspection by members of the Society and by the public.

The President appointed a meeting of the Council to be held at 2.30 P.M. and designated Messrs. Christie and Good a Committee to audit the reports of the Treasurer.

The session adjourned at 12.45 P.M.

Twenty-six members and friends of the Society enjoyed luncheon at the Faculty Club of Columbia University.

Afternoon Session

The second session was held in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, with President Ayer in the chair. Eighteen members were present, namely, Messrs. Ayer, Carter, Case, Christie, Emerton, Faulkner, Good, C. M. Jacobs, E. P. Johnson, E. W. Miller, R. W. Miller, Nichols, Schaff, Severance, Stout, W. Walker, Washburn, and the Secretary, also nine guests.

On behalf of the Council the Secretary announced the election of Professors Emerton and Evarts B. Greene to membership in the Society.

The first paper of the afternoon was by Henry Bradford Washburn: "The College of Cardinals and the Veto." It was followed by a paper by Edward Waite Miller on "The Relation of Wessel Gansvoort to the Reformation." Then came a paper by David Schley Schaff on "John Hus and the Definition of the Church."

Vice-President Good then assumed the chair and Mr. George L. Kieffer, a guest, read a paper by John O. Evjen on "Luther's Ideal of Church Polity.[1]"

The Rev. W. T. Schoenfeld of New York City explained to the Society the project for a "Nation-wide Civic Celebration" of the four hundredth anniversary of the posting of Luther's Theses, proposed to be held on the 31st of October 1917. The Society took no action.

[1] Printed (in English) in the *Luthersk Tidsskrift*, Bind 9, Hefte 4, Minneapolis April 1914, pp. 97–119.

There followed discussion of the various papers read during the afternoon, in which Messrs. Good, Washburn, Schaff, Carter, and Rockwell took part.

After informal discussion of the plans of the Society the afternoon session ended at 5.55 P.M.

Eleven members of the Society dined together at the Faculty Club of Columbia University at 6.15 P.M. There were present: Messrs. Ayer, Carter, Good, Hesselgrave, E. P. Johnson, R. W. Miller, Nichols, Schaff, Severance, Washburn, and the Secretary. Regrets were received from Messrs. Ballantyne, Corwin, Hood, Ruston, and Sadler. In the same room there was called together at 7.55 P.M. the

Evening Session

President Ayer presiding, the Secretary reported substantially as follows: that he knew of the death of but one member this year, Dr. Spieker, who had delivered a paper at the Annual Meeting of 1912. The Secretary read the following memorial notice, prepared by Henry Eyster Jacobs[1]:

> The parents of George Frederick Spieker, Hermann Henry Spieker (b. 1818, d. 1861)and Margaret Elizabeth Dorges (of French descent, b. 1821, d. 1896) emigrated from the village of Ueffeln, near the city of Osnabrück, Hanover, in the year 1842, to Baltimore, Maryland, in a suburb of which George Frederick, their eldest child, was born on the 17th of November, 1844. The youngest of their four children, Edward Henry, has for years been professor of the Greek language in Johns Hopkins University. Graduating from the Baltimore High School, with the highest honors, in 1863, George

[1] See also H. E. Jacobs, "George Frederick Spieker," *Lutheran Church Review*, vol. xxxii., no. 4, October 1913, pp. 564–571.

Frederick Spieker entered the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., a few months after the battle. At the close of his junior year he removed to Pennsylvania College, in the same place, where for two years he temporarily supplied the professorship of the German language. In the fall of 1866 he entered the Seminary at Philadelphia as a member of the senior class. Upon his graduation in 1867, he was ordained by the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and became pastor at Kutztown, Pennsylvania, for a year, acting as professor of the German language in the Keystone Normal School, located in that place. After sixteen years at Kutztown, he accepted a call to St. Michael's Church, Allentown, Pennsylvania. During his eleven years at Allentown, he was instructor in the Hebrew language in Muhlenberg College, and for some years the President of its Board of Trustees. In 1894, he was called to the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, as professor of Hebrew and Church History, but withdrew from the Hebrew instruction after the first year, and confined his attention mainly to Church History. He was co-translator into English of Hutter's *Compendium Locorum Theologicorum*, 1868; author of a *Commentary on Second Corinthians*, 1897, and was an Associate Editor of the *Lutheran Church Review*, to which he contributed many articles. He received the degree of D.D. from Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia, 1887, and that of LL.D. from Muhlenberg College, 1911. He died at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, on the 7th of September, 1913.

The following members have been elected since Vol. III of our *Papers* was printed: Revs. Clifford P. Case, Charles E. Hesselgrave, L. M. Haughwout; Profs. C. H. Geer, C. M. Jacobs, E. B. Krehbiel, J. H. Logan, David S. Schaff, Vernon Stauffer, H. Morse Stephens, and Dr. E. C. Margrander, and J. A. Mudd, U.S.N. (sustaining member);

Profs. Chalfant Robinson, J. C. Stout, T. F. Collier, Thomas Porter, J. V. Stephens; Revs. Thomas Burgess, R. W. Miller, and A. J. Sadler; Dr. A. B. Keep; Profs. S. G. Bland, H. H. Guy, F. W. Loetscher, and Clark Lamberton. The following resignations have been accepted: Profs. F. H. Foster, J. De Witt, F. K. Farr, President John H. Finley, Rt. Rev. F. J. Kinsman. Prof. J. W. Moncrief has written that he never was a member. The total membership is one hundred and ten. This number includes those recently elected who have not been formally enrolled, as they have not yet paid their first dues.

The Secretary presented an outline map showing the geographical distribution of the membership, more than fifty per cent. of which is in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. An analysis of the membership by denomination shows that over half of the members belong to the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, or Reformed (German and Dutch) Churches. At least sixteen denominations are represented at present. It is hoped to make the Society still more representative of American Christianity.

An enlarged reprint of Volume I of our *Papers*, including *The Letters of Einhard* in English translation, was sent in August to every one on the list of members.

On the 10th of April, 1913, the executors of Samuel Macauley Jackson assigned to William Walker Rockwell the copyright of the *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, volumes I–VIII, and *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, second series, volumes I–II. As the Society is not yet incorporated, it is customary to copyright each volume in the name of the Secretary.

The Secretary read a letter from Edward Tanjore Corwin stating that the manuscript for his "Index" to the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York* was

ready for the printer. The Secretary was empowered to draw up and send to the State Historian, the Hon. James A. Holden, a resolution urging that the printing be begun speedily.

At the Annual Meeting in 1912 the Society gave its formal approval to the continuance of the late Samuel Macauley Jackson's publication of the *Latin Works, etc., of Zwingli*, under the auspices of this Society and under the editorship of its present Secretary. The Secretary reported that detailed estimates of cost had been submitted to George T. Jackson, M.D., one of the executors of the late Samuel Macauley Jackson, and that he had entered upon negotiations looking toward the continuance of the set by the Heidelberg Press of Philadelphia; but that the negotiations were at a standstill.[1]

The Treasurer reported that the state of the finances will justify the publication in 1914 of Volume IV of the *Papers*, provided it does not much exceed the size of Volume III.; also the payment from the treasury of the deficit in the subscriptions toward the reprinting of Volume I. In addition to the $200 raised in 1912 toward the cost of reprinting, there were collected in 1913 $69, as follows: H. Morse Stephens, $10; Henry Osborne Taylor, $10; J. I. Good, $1; A. B. Baird, $5; K. D. Macmillan, $3; H. J. Weber, $2; H. O. Dwight, $2; F. A. Christie, $2; D. S. Schaff, $2; Jesse Johnson, $2; W. H. Allison, $2; J. A. Faulkner, $1.50; J. Howard Robinson, $.50; and $1 each from W. J. McGlothlin, P. M. Rhinelander, G. Norcross, D. D. Addison, W. M. Brown, A. T. Swing, L. Waterman, M. B. Stewart, C. H. Lyttle, C. M. Geer, F. K. Farr, C. Burrage, R. H. Nichols, C. M. Clark, A. Hörmann, A. A. Hays, A. W. Jenks.

The Treasurer then submitted the following report for 1913:

[1] As the late Samuel Macauley Jackson did not make the continuance of the set mandatory in his will, up to the date of our going to press there is nothing further to report. The manuscripts are in the custody of the Secretary.

Treasurer's Report, 1913

Receipts:		
Balance December 28, 1912 (unrestricted)	$118.56	
Balance December 28, 1912 (restricted to reprinting Volume I.)	200.00	
Dues for 1912	15.00	
Dues for 1913	272.50	
Dues for 1914	15.00	
Sales of *Papers* through G. P. Putnam's Sons	73.80	
Sales of *Papers* through Secretary	15.00	
Subscriptions received 1913 toward reprinting Volume I	69.00	
		$778.86
Disbursements:		
Exchange on Checks	$ 1.40	
Postage and Express	23.63	
Printing and Stationery	45.00	
Second half cost of Volume III	258.94	
To advertising Volume III in England,	3.07	
First half cost of reprinting Volume I	176.63	
Typewriting	13.98	
Total Disbursements	$522.65	
The bank balance of $256.21 is composed of two items:		
Unexpended subscriptions toward reprinting Volume I	92.37	
Unrestricted balance	163.84	
		$778.86

Dr. Good announced that the Auditing Committee had approved this report.

The following officers were elected for 1914:

President: James Isaac Good.

Vice-President: John Alfred Faulkner.

Secretary: William Walker Rockwell.

Treasurer: Henry James Weber.

Elected members of the Council: Edward Payson Johnson and David Schley Schaff. To the Council also belong, in virtue of Article III of the Constitution the *Former Presidents:* Williston Walker, Henry Eyster Jacobs, Francis Albert Christie, Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Edward Tanjore Corwin, and Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.

There followed a discussion of plans for future publications of the Society. It was thought best for financial reasons to postpone for the present the publication of the translation of the *Letters of Servatus Lupus.*

The Secretary was authorized to ask the Hon. James A. Holden, State Historian of New York, to secure, if possible, the publication of Edward Tanjore Corwin's manuscript "List of Ministers in the States of New York and New Jersey down to 1800." This might perhaps appear as an appendix to the *Index to the Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York.* In case the state authorities should take no action, the question of the publication of the List was referred to the Council of this Society.[1]

The Society resolved to recommend to the Trustees of the American-Scandinavian Foundation the publication in the English language of a comprehensive Church History of the Scandinavian peoples. It was the opinion of the

[1] After the death of Dr. Corwin, which occurred on the 22d of June, 1914, his son, Rev. Charles E. Corwin of North Branch, N. J., sent to the Secretary the manuscript, finally entitled by its compiler "The Ministry and Churches of all Denominations in the Middle Colonies (including Maryland and Virginia East of Chesapeake Bay) from the First Settlements until the Year 1800." It is impossible for the Society to print this long and very valuable list at present, for lack of money.

members present that this would fill an important gap in the literature accessible to students who cannot use the Scandinavian languages.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Edward Tanjore Corwin, expressing the regret of the members present that he was unable to be with them, and their appreciation of his indefatigable labors in the cause of Church History.

The following resolution offered by Vice-President James Isaac Good was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS Dr. Philip Schaff was the founder of the American Society of Church History and was foremost in his time as an advocate of Church Unity, and as a scholar in efforts to secure coöperation and to utilize learning for the welfare of the people, Therefore

RESOLVED That the American Society of Church History heartily commends the proposed memorial to Dr. Philip Schaff in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and learns with pleasure that in the Philip Schaff Memorial Building there will be established a Historical Library.

A vote of thanks to Union Theological Seminary for its hospitality was unanimously adopted.

The proposed constitutional amendments, as noted in the Minutes for 1912 (above, page ix), were unanimously adopted.

The Secretary reported the publication by the Scribners in October of a *Source Book for Early Church History* by Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr. This fulfills a project in favor of which the Society passed a resolution at its Annual Meeting of 1911.

It was voted that the Secretary should have authority, under the direction of the Council, to investigate the steps which would be necessary in order to secure the incorporation of this Society.

The Society adjourned at 9.11 P.M.

WM. WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary and Treasurer.

The Jackson Memorial Meeting

Tuesday, December 31, 1912

THE LIFE WORK OF SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON

By William Walker Rockwell

THE American Society of Church History owes its existence to Philip Schaff, who founded it in March, 1888; it owes the fact that it still exists to-day chiefly to Samuel Macauley Jackson, who led its reorganization in 1906. At the outset Dr. Schaff selected Dr. Jackson to be the Secretary; and Secretary Dr. Jackson remained, until a year ago he became the President. Had he lived a few months more, he would have rounded out a quarter century of service. Let me read a resolution adopted sixteen years ago to-day:

> That the American Society of Church History, at this its final session, Wednesday afternoon, December 30, 1896, extends to the Rev. Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D., LL.D., Secretary of the Society, a cordial vote of thanks and appreciation for his unselfish and zealous labors on behalf of the Society, from its foundation in 1888 to its merging in the American Historical Association in 1896, during which period he has filled the office of Secretary to the very great profit of the Society and to the utmost satisfaction of its members.[1]

Pride of office might have led a spirit less sweet than his to resist the proposal to merge this Society in the American Historical Association; but Dr. Jackson entered upon the scheme heartily. He followed the American Historical Association loyally about, acting as Secretary of the Church History Section. Before long, however, it became evident

[1] *Papers*, first series, vol. viii., p. xxxi.

that the plan was not a success. Few of the members of our Society could afford to follow from one distant city to another, and those who did attend often felt lost in the crowd; so that the Church History Section had to be given up, because of inadequate support. In another respect also the new condition of affairs proved unsatisfactory; as the American Historical Association received government aid, its officers hesitated to publish papers on controversial points in Ecclesiastical History. In view of these facts, Dr. Jackson took the lead in reorganizing the Society and arranged for the first meeting which was held at Columbia University in 1906. If we honor Philip Schaff as our founder, we must recognize Samuel Macauley Jackson as foremost in the work of reorganization.

Dr. Jackson came of Irish ancestry, on both sides of the house. His father, George T. Jackson, born in Dublin in 1810, came to this country in 1834. He was a man of high commercial honor, closely associated in business in New York City, with Cornelius van Schaick Roosevelt, grandfather of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Originally an Episcopalian, after moving into the neighborhood of the Marble Collegiate Church at Fifth Avenue and 29th Street, he became a deacon in the Dutch Reformed Church. He died in 1888. Dr. Jackson's mother, Letitia Jane Aiken Macauley, was the daughter of Dr. Samuel Macauley, a native of Ireland, who taught mathematics in Union College, Schenectady, and then became a prosperous physician in New York City. He was a brother of the Reverend Thomas McAuley, D.D., LL.D., first president of the Board of Directors of the Union Theological Seminary. Dr. Jackson's mother ruled her household well; she was a woman of strong character, by early training a Presbyterian; and she dedicated her eldest son, Samuel Macauley Jackson, born on the 19th of June, 1851, to the Christian ministry.

The boy received his early training at Ward School No. 35, under the celebrated principal Thomas Hunter, who later

founded the Normal College for Girls, now called Hunter College. From No. 35 he entered the Free Academy, afterwards entitled the College of the City of New York. Here he manifested literary tastes, and failed of an election to Phi Beta Kappa only because he did not complete with sufficiently high credit a required course in drawing. The deprivation was made good last year when the chapter of Phi Beta Kappa in New York University granted him the right to wear the gold key.

After graduation from college in 1870, he spent one year at Princeton Theological Seminary, and then, not because of any change of views, but probably for family reasons, entered Union Theological Seminary. Here he passed under the spell of Henry Boynton Smith, Professor of Systematic Theology, for whom he always cherished a high regard; here also he met the teacher whose influence was to dominate his entire career: Philip Schaff.

On graduation from Union in 1873 he went to Europe for two years of further study. He spent some time at Leipzig and at Berlin. In one of his vacations he followed the route of the Exodus from Egypt to the Holy Land, chronicling the journey in a detailed diary. From Germany he brought back the language, but no epoch-making intellectual impressions; for he had gained some knowledge of German thought before he had crossed the ocean. He returned to America as he had left it, a disciple of Dr. Schaff.

In 1876 Dr. Jackson was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry and became pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Norwood, New Jersey. After four useful years, which some of his former parishioners still hold in grateful remembrance, he resigned. Diffident man that he was, he delivered his carefully prepared sermons in somewhat halting fashion. Though he had the bitter disappointment of not being asked to take another parish, he continued to supply vacant pulpits. When not preaching himself, he was a most regular attendant at church, as his pastors, Dr. Edward Benton

Coe, formerly of the Collegiate Church of Saint Nicholas, and Dr. Henry E. Cobb of the West End Collegiate Church have borne witness.

At prayer meeting he was an unfailing attendant, and he had an unusual gift of simple and helpful petition. It was he who inspired the Collegiate Church to undertake the support of a missionary in the mountains of Kentucky, as well as that of a hospital in China.

Dr. Jackson's Christian activities were not confined to Church work. He served the Charity Organization Society in the City of New York for many years, as one of their Vice-Presidents; he was also on various committees. For a long time he was Chairman of their Appeals Committee, which issues appeals through the daily press; this work used to take him to the United Charities Building every day. For a long term he was Recording Secretary of the Prison Association of the State of New York. In 1901 he was elected a trustee of the Canton Christian College, a flourishing interdenominational enterprise situated in China, and in April, 1905, he was made President of its Board of Trustees. These and other organizations to which he had given freely of money, time, and strength, were represented by speakers at a memorial meeting held at the United Charities Building on the fifteenth of October, 1912.

As a member of these bodies he was noted for regular attendance, for unflagging fidelity in the discharge of duty, and for reticence as to his personal opinions or preferences. He once said: "They always make me secretary; I don't know why."

Dr. Jackson did not confine his interests to professedly useful organizations. He greatly enjoyed the society of his fellows as a member of various New York clubs. On Saturdays he dined with the ministers in Chi Alpha; thence he very frequently went to spend the evening at the Century Association. Early in its career he identified himself with the City Club. He was a charter member of the National

Arts, also at one time a member of the Aldine. In London, his club was the Authors'.

Generosity was a marked characteristic of Dr. Jackson. He helped friends in need; he ventured considerable sums to enable authors to print useful books. In 1907, as Secretary of the American Committee to co-operate with the Reformation Monument Association of Geneva, he collected the American contributions toward the Calvin Monument Fund. At the time of his death he was erecting at the cost of ten thousand dollars a house in Canton, China, as a residence for the President of the Canton Christian College. He presented New York University with ten thousand dollars to found the Philip Schaff lectureship in Church History, and served it as professor of Church History from 1895 to 1912 without pay. To our own Society he was the primary source of supply. On the day of meeting we were all his guests at luncheon and dinner. If a deficit arose he stood ready to give dollar for dollar. Besides writing thousands of letters and editing nearly three thousand pages for us without compensation, he gave generous financial help, publishing Volume VIII of the First Series of our *Papers* at his own risk and with heavy loss; and subscribing more than half of the estimated cost of reprinting Volume I of the Second Series. To him, money was no great object, if he could but advance the interests of Church History. He frequently quoted Lord Bacon: "Every man owes something to his profession."

Because of his generosity, Dr. Jackson was thought to be wealthy. This was not the case. Unlike most men, he spent but little of his income on himself. He never married, but enjoyed the comforts and the fellowship of the home of his brother, George T. Jackson, M.D. His chief expenditures were for travel and books, and these were along the lines of professional interest. He went to Europe no less than sixteen times, usually during the summer vacations. He visited the scenes of Church History; for instance, he

made a pilgrimage to every spot connected with the career of Zwingli. In 1910 he took particular pleasure in visiting Spain, and in seeking out the places connected with Ignatius Loyola, whom he admired. During the last year of his life he made various plans, such as a trip to Palestine; then, one to Europe; then one to China, to see the Canton Christian College; but all these plans were brought to naught by illness. Almost to the very end he dreamed of travel.

As a collector of books Dr. Jackson went his own gait; he was like nobody else. He did not run after rarities, yet he searched antiquarian catalogues for twenty years to get together at least one contemporary edition of all the tracts that Zwingli ever published. To these he added every monograph on Zwingli, making a collection unrivaled outside Zürich. About other personalities that attracted him he likewise grouped books: Wyclif, Hus, Hincmar of Rheims, Bernard of Cluny. Perhaps the most expensive portion of his library were the bibliographical works, such as the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum;* these were invaluable in the preparation of the bibliographies which form so useful a part of the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.* Dr. Jackson's professional library was housed in his large office at 11 Waverly Place, which he occupied for the last twenty-eight years of his life. Books were everywhere: on every inch of wall space, heaped on the large work table, piled at convenient intervals on the floor. Over all this genial confusion Dr. Jackson ruled benignly. Every volume was carefully catalogued on cards written by his own hand. On the shelves the books were arranged in the alphabetical order of the author's names; but the alphabetical principle was crossed by various subject groupings. Through all this tangle, blind as it was to the outsider, Dr. Jackson's practised eye could penetrate with promptitude and precision. If he wanted a volume, he would rise, circle about for a moment, then like a hawk pounce upon his quarry and return in silent triumph.

Dr. Jackson bought many books, occasionally in Latin or French, very frequently in German, but more commonly in English. Knowing that most students and users of encyclopedias prefer books in the vernacular, he made a point of familiarity with works in the English language. His purchases he examined carefully, and more frequently than not read them from cover to cover; for it was his custom to sit up very late at night to read. These vigils were not devoted to desultory browsing, justifiable though browsing might appear to be in an encyclopedist, whose aim might be described as theological omniscience checked only by the limitations of contemporary curiosity. He was usually trying to fathom the secret of some great personality.

When the last volume of the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* was in the press, and he knew that the final chapters of his own career were soon to close, he presented his professional library to his Alma Mater, the Union Theological Seminary.[1]

The literary activity of Dr. Jackson covered more than a third of a century. The major portion of his time was devoted to editing. Of his earlier work, performed in collaboration with Dr. Philip Schaff, the next paper will give an authoritative account. Dr. Jackson's first independent venture as compiler of the *Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge* (1891) caused him the loss of seven thousand dollars, and made him hesitate to finance another such undertaking; he therefore accepted an invitation to act as the editor for Religious Literature in *Johnson's Universal*

[1] For eleven months of each year the books may be freely consulted by the public. The general duplicates were sent to Atlanta Theological Seminary. Most of the duplicates in the field of bibliography were left to Washington and Lee University; but a portion went to New York University. In 1901 Dr. Jackson had presented his Zwingli Collection to the Union Theological Seminary, where a bronze tablet now bears the following inscription: "The Samuel Macauley Jackson Collection of Reformation Literature. Founded in 1901 by Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D., LL.D., an alumnus of 1873, and endowed by his brother George T. Jackson, M.D., 1914."

Cyclopedia (1893–1895); and he also had charge of the same department in the new edition of *Johnson's* which appeared in 1900 under the title of *The Universal Cyclopedia.* When the *New International Encyclopedia* (1902–1904) was projected, it was most fitting that it should once more be Dr. Jackson who was asked to edit the Department of Religion. The reputation he had won in encylopedia work led the makers of dictionaries to turn to him as an authority on definition; he is responsible for the Church terms in the *Standard Dictionary* (1895) and in the *New International Dictionary* (1900).

If the enumeration of these various encyclopedias and dictionaries is dry, just imagine how tedious must have been the work of their religious editor! Fidelity to detail, the desire to track error to its inmost lair; such was the passion of this hunter for facts, of this developer of definitions. Though posterity may relegate our old encyclopedias to the lumber room, yet the task of the maker of reference books is perennial, and he serves manifold and insistent needs of his own generation.

For Dr. Jackson's crowning achievement in this field, the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* just completed, many things *might* be said, but two things *must.* It is proving the most useful work of reference in our language on the subject of Church History; its appearance is most opportune at the moment when Roman Catholic scholarship has found admirable expression in the *Catholic Encyclopedia.* In planning its translation from the German and its expansion to cover the special intellectual interests of the English-speaking world, Dr. Jackson and his able associates have done a notable and timely service to Protestant learning.

An editor by profession is rarely tempted to do a little more work of the same confining nature for charity or for amusement. Yet that is precisely what Dr. Jackson volunteered. For over twenty years he had some sort of eleemosynary editing on hand. He put several thousand pages

through the press for our own Society; and when it was merged in the American Historical Association he performed a similar favor for the Huguenot Society of America. In 1902 and 1904 he edited their *Papers and Proceedings;* and in 1899 he put through the press their elaborate volume on the *Tercentenary of the Edict of Nantes.* Also in the field of foreign missions Dr. Jackson assisted in publishing a *Bibliography of Foreign Missions*[1] and was also a member of the Publishing Committee of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference held at New York in 1900. He attended the inspiring World's Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, but could not assist in any literary way; in that year he was preoccupied with the *New Schaff-Herzog,* and with a book entitled *The Source of "Jerusalem the Golden."* [2]

Dr. Jackson edited many works other than encyclopedias and reports. Passing over the nine volumes of *Handbooks for Practical Workers in Church and Philanthropy* (1899–1904), of which he was sole editor, and the thirteen volumes of the *American Church History Series* (1893–1897), in which he was but one of several editors, Church historians cannot overlook the nine volumes entitled *Heroes of the Reformation* (1898–1906), which included his *Life of Zwingli.* This is his best-known monograph.

To Zwingli, Dr. Jackson planned a series of literary monuments; and he spent portions of thirty years in their execution. For two decades prior to 1901 he had been assembling his Zwingli Collection. The books were but the raw material for a biography. At first he was reluctant to compose a new work, in view of the excellent German books already published; and he actually penned a translation of the *Life of Zwingli* by Stähelin; but realizing its inadequacy for the purpose in hand, he cast the translation aside, and

[1] New York, 1891, Reprinted from the *Encyclopedia of Missions.*

[2] *The source of "Jerusalem the Golden," together with other pieces attributed to Bernard of Cluny. In English translation by Henry Preble. Introduction, notes, and annotated bibliography by Samuel Macauley Jackson.* Chicago, 1910.

published in 1901 an original biography, giving his own special hero his proper niche among the *Heroes of the Reformation*. Even then Dr. Jackson's zeal for Zwingli could not rest. As practically none of Zwingli's works were accessible in English, Dr. Jackson printed in 1901 a volume of *Selections from Zwingli*. Very shortly before his death[1] he finished reading the proof of the first volume of *The Latin Writings of Huldreich Zwingli, with the Correspondence and Selections from the German Works*. The translation, which he thought would occupy five or six volumes, had been made at his own expense; and the publication of the only volume which has appeared was at his personal risk.[2]

The enumeration of the details of a man's career does not exhaust its significance. Though his eyes were wearied by myriads of proof-sheets, he never lost sight of the goal of his pilgrimage. Modest builder of monuments to other men, organizer of useful coöperative undertakings, faithful friend of many good causes;—such was he who has so recently been taken from us. As once we lamented the loss of Philip Schaff, his master, our founder, so now we mourn the departure of the faithful disciple, who continued and revived the work. More than to all others, the American Society of Church History owes a debt of gratitude to Philip Schaff and to Samuel Macauley Jackson.

[1] Dr. Jackson died of pernicious anæmia at Washington, Connecticut, August 2, 1912. He was buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.

[2] See above, p. ix, p. xvii. Dr. Jackson's unpublished manuscripts are in the custody of the present writer.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON AS A CO-WORKER WITH PHILIP SCHAFF

By David Schley Schaff, Professor of Church History in the Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

(*Read December 31, 1912*)

THE close literary relations between Dr. Jackson and Dr. Philip Schaff were begun in 1878 while Dr. Jackson was the pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Norwood, New Jersey, and continued without interruption till Dr. Schaff's death in 1893.

The first literary work which Dr. Schaff called upon the young pastor to do was the preparation of material for the *Dictionary of the Bible* which Dr. Schaff edited for the Sunday School Union and which appeared in Philadelphia in 1880. Upon this volume, according to the preface, Dr. Jackson "devoted nearly two years of uninterrupted labor."

The assistance rendered in the preparation of the *Dictionary* was so satisfactory that Dr. Schaff associated Dr. Jackson with himself in the production of the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, so-called, from its inception. The editorial labor upon that enterprise was done in the two rooms in the Bible House at the corner of Ninth Street and Fourth Avenue, occupied by Dr. Schaff as his study, which was also used by the American Companies on Bible Revision for their monthly meetings until the completion of the Revisions in 1881 and 1885.

Closely associated with Dr. Jackson in the work of the

office was Mr. Clemens Petersen, a Dane and graduate of the University of Copenhagen, a man of extensive attainments, well equipped for encyclopedic work. In 1881, the present writer became associated with the *Encyclopedia*. Dr. Jackson and he acted as its responsible associate editors.

The preparation of a religious and historical book of reference on the scale of the German *Real-Encyclopädie* founded by Professor Herzog of Erlangen was an undertaking which required courage on the part of the American editor. A prior difficulty with which he was confronted was the securing of a publisher, willing to risk a large expenditure of money. Such a publisher was found in Funk & Wagnalls who, according to their statement, have invested no less than $300,000 in the *New Schaff-Herzog*.

With full heart and soul Dr. Jackson entered into the work of co-operating with Dr. Schaff in this literary undertaking. On the other hand Dr. Schaff placed confidence in his younger colleague, a confidence which grew stronger as Dr. Schaff's acquaintance with his literary equipment, sound judgment, and administrative ability increased. Dr. Jackson reproduced articles from the German text and prepared original articles. In addition, he attended, except in special cases, to the extensive correspondence with authors which the work entailed and he also examined the proofs as they came from the printer.

His constant presence in his father's study for two years, during which the work was in progress, and frequent conversations with his father about Dr. Jackson enables the present writer to say again that Dr. Schaff held Dr. Jackson in warm and confidential regard as a literary associate and as a gentleman. The qualities which commended Dr. Jackson to his older colleague were his prudent scholarship, his love of accuracy, his unfailing urbanity and equableness of temper, his mental fairness and his unvarying readiness to receive counsel and suggestions from Dr. Schaff and, in fact,

from every quarter where by reason of age or special scholarship respect was properly due.

In co-operating upon the *Schaff-Herzog*, Dr. Jackson was doing fresh work upon a kind of undertaking new among us. The *Encyclopedia* was of mark in the history of theological literature in this country. Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger, of the German Reformed Church, afterwards president of Ursinus College, undertook a literal translation of the first edition of the German *Herzog*, and carried the work through two volumes, 1856–1862, which contained material from six volumes of the original. The further prosecution of the enterprise was interrupted by the Civil War.

Dr. Schaff's scheme was entirely different. It was intended to preserve the material in the German book which was of real value for the English reader and at the same time to give a positive Anglo-Saxon complexion to the English work. This purpose was secured by condensing the original German articles and by adding new articles contributed by American and English scholars on topics not treated in the German edition. Dr. Schaff did not hesitate in cases to substitute contributions by English-speaking scholars for German articles on the same subject.

The title-page of the new work contained the words, "*Based on the Real-Encyclopædie of Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck*," thus sufficiently stating the method pursued. Dr. Schaff intended a reproduction rather than a translation, but a reproduction in which the literary rights of the German authors should be sacredly respected, except in that of translating their articles word for word.

In following this plan, the veteran theologian was consistent with the method he counseled from almost the earliest period of his residence in America. He had been in this country scarcely a year when he began in public addresses to take the position that it was going against what seemed to be the evident purpose of Providence to attempt to perpetuate the German language on our soil or to attempt

to perpetuate German customs without modification and adaptation to our free institutions and new beginnings. The same principle he would have applied to German text-books. In this he incurred the bitter condemnation of a portion of the German press of the land as well as the suspicion of many good German ministers and a large part of the German-American Church constituency of the first generation. Faithful, however, to the terms of the call which brought him from Berlin to Mercersburg, he continued for some years to publish the *Kirchenfreund* in German and he also issued the first edition of his *History of the Apostolic Church*, 1851, in German.

The *Religious Encyclopedia or Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology*, which soon came to be known as the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* appeared in three volumes in 1882–1884. It perhaps cannot be said that the work was in all points what the editor would have had it be, but it was a distinct contribution to the theological apparatus of Anglo-American scholars and pastors.

This work was followed up by the publication of the *Encyclopedia of Living Divines and Christian Workers of All Denominations in Europe and America*, 1887 (p. 271). Dr. Schaff and Dr. Jackson were equally editors of this volume of which the *Nation* said: "Its great catholicity is shown in the selection of names and the best taste in the preparation of the articles. The data presented have been obtained in most cases at first hand. It is even more comprehensive than its title implies." While Dr. Schaff laid out the principles which were to be followed in the selection of names for insertion and the treatment of biographical details, it may be said that upon Dr. Jackson fell the full task of execution. The volume, so far as I am aware, broke new ground in its department. In 1891 this encyclopedia was made a part of the *Schaff-Herzog*, which was henceforth published in four volumes.

The preparation of the third edition of the German

Herzog under the editorial care of Professor Hauck of Leipzig, together with the fact that the lapse of a generation made necessary a radical revision of the American work, it was decided by Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls to destroy the old plates and to produce a new work based upon the new German edition. Dr. Jackson became the sole editor-in-chief and to his industry and skill are to be ascribed its merits and its happy completion in twelve volumes (1908–1912), a few months before his death. It was Dr. Schaff's hope that a new edition would in due time be prepared and the *Encyclopedia* be "kept fully abreast of the times," an expression he often used of his books. He had provided for its issuance by the appointment of Dr. Jackson and his son, the present writer, as co-editors. Other duties, especially the preparation of two volumes of the *History of the Christian Church*, covering the period 600–1517, made it impossible for the latter to enter upon editorial responsibility at that time. Delay in beginning the undertaking seemed to him to be unwise. It was for these reasons that he confided, not without reluctance, his rights to Dr. Jackson. And for the same reasons he was obliged to decline the editorial oversight of any of the departments into which the materials of the *Encyclopedia* were apportioned. All that he felt able to undertake was the revision of articles prepared for the first edition by his father and himself.

No one could have set himself with more enthusiasm and greater diligence to the preparation of the new work than did Dr. Jackson. By training and by temper, he was admirably fitted for the task. It is a testimony to his regard for the original editor that he gave the new work the title, *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.* A perusal of its pages will show that they are encyclopedic in their breadth and wise in their condensation; and that the theological tone which pervades the volumes is the tone which characterized Dr. Schaff's theology; tolerant to all reverent scholarship, judicious, and distinctly biblical and

pietistic. That he would be greatly pleased with the volumes were he here to look them through there can be no hesitation in affirming. The work will serve the present generation of English-speaking students well. It is a credit to Anglo-American scholarship, and notably to the scholarly patience and administrative wisdom of Dr. Jackson.

The last literary work in which Dr. Jackson co-operated with his older friend was in the preparation of certain biographical sections for the fourth volume of Dr. Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, 600–1050. On page 621 credit is given to the younger author for contributions.

When Dr. Schaff was stricken with paralysis at Lake Mohonk in 1892, he at once called Dr. Jackson to his side. At the time, Dr. Schaff was engaged in finishing the last pages of his *Propædeutic* for the press. It was his purpose to put the completion of the volume into Dr. Jackson's hands but his recovery was so rapid that he was able to finish the work himself.

Enjoying Dr. Schaff's full confidence as a literary co-worker, Dr. Jackson was always a welcome guest in Dr. Schaff's home. When he passed away in the autumn of 1893, Dr. Jackson was chosen, with the approval of the family to prepare the elaborate notice of the deceased's life which appeared in the New York *Evangelist* with whose editor, Dr. Henry M. Field, Dr. Schaff had been on terms of intimate friendship for many years and to whose pages he had been a frequent contributor.

The public services in the Church of the Covenant being over, Dr. Jackson accompanied the family to the burial lot in Woodlawn Cemetery and there pronounced the last prayer over his friend.

It was Dr. Schaff's habit to cultivate the acquaintance and friendship of young theologians and students as well as to cherish the friendship of his contemporaries. There were two reasons for his doing so, as he used to say; to keep himself abreast of the fresh thought of the age, and to discern in the

distance the theological sky of the new generation which was to come. Among these younger men, and their number was not small here and abroad, no one enjoyed more fully his confidence and his affection than did Dr. Jackson.

REMINISCENCES OF DR. JACKSON

By James Isaac Good, Professor of Reformed Church History and Liturgics in the Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio

IT gives me a great though a melancholy pleasure to pay a tribute to the life and worth of Samuel Macauley Jackson. His modesty was such that it makes a posthumous tribute all the more necessary. Though I had long known him, my intimate association with him began after the publication of his *Life of Zwingli*. The Reformed Church in the United States has always looked to Zwingli as its founder, and therefore we as a denomination became interested in the author of that excellent biography. A few years later he made a generous proposal to me that he would donate his translations of the works of Zwingli into English to our Church if it would publish them. This offer was quite in line with his generous nature which showed itself in so many ways, many of which have become known more fully only in the tributes paid to his memory since his death. The General Synod of our Church appointed a committee of which I was made chairman. This led me into close relations to him. Unfortunately difficulties finally arose which prevented the project from being carried out; therefore on his own responsibility he published the first volume just before his death. In my close association with him in this project, I always found him kind, courteous, genial, and helpful.

Perhaps it might be of interest to you as historians, and also illustrate the lasting influence which historians sometimes exert, if I were to tell you how he became interested

in the career of Zwingli. He once said to me, "I had never been specially interested in Zwingli when I was in the Theological Seminary. But afterward when I aided Rev. Dr. Schaff in his historical publications he called my attention to Zwingli as probably the most modern of the reformers in his views. That chance remark started me in my historic quest." Your speaker can understand Dr. Schaff's great interest in Zwingli, for Dr. Schaff was a Swiss by birth and was very proud of it. He often used to say, "I was born in the freest country in the world." I never understood that remark until in 1895 I visited Chur, the capital of the canton of the Grisons in Switzerland, where Dr. Schaff was born. I found that that canton was the most republican of any of the cantons. Thus it was the first to attempt religious liberty long before our Plymouth Fathers, who got the idea from Holland; for in 1526 at Ilanz they decided on it. It was, then, that zeal of Dr. Schaff's that communicated itself to his pupil and literary executor Dr. Jackson, and led him later to publish a *Life of Zwingli* and to gather an unexcelled collection of Zwingli's works which he donated in 1901 to Union Theological Seminary. Dr. Schaff in another way also left a deep permanent impression on Dr. Jackson; Dr. Schaff was an apostle of Church Union. His death was somewhat hastened by his determination to go to the Congress of Religions at Chicago in 1893. About a month before it was held, your speaker called to see him. He said, "I am writing my address for Chicago. My doctor says I ought not to go; but I must go if I die in it, for it is for the sake of Church Union." He went and died as the result of over-exertion. Now this ideal of irenics Dr. Schaff also communicated to Dr. Jackson, who always was greatly interested in it and was anxious for peace and not for polemics among the churches. I should perhaps speak with modesty of his very kind offer to take me with him on a tour around the world, so that he could visit Canton in China, in whose Christian College he was deeply interested. I have

sometimes wondered whether his valuable life might not have been spared for a longer period if he had at that time stopped in his work and taken a much-needed rest. But it was otherwise ordered.

His literary fame will rest on his published works, especially on his books on Zwingli and his most recent editorship of the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* whose name really ought to be the Jackson-Hauck Encyclopedia, for the name of Hauck superseded that of Herzog in the last published German edition. And Dr. Jackson had as much to do with this last edition as Dr. Schaff had with the first edition for which it was named after him. But of course Dr. Jackson with his customary modesty would not have permitted such a thing. All this, however, reveals his fine type of character, his modesty covering and concealing a life and soul that was all the more beautiful and greater because of it. I have not spoken of his relations to us in this Historical Society. What an inspiration he has been to us all, and how superbly he has guided the affairs of this organization; yes, and with what generosity he has aided in making its sessions so delightful. May the spirit of this departed brother remain with us as a benediction for many years after his untimely departure!

Servatus Lupus, a Humanist of the Ninth Century

By

Samuel Macauley Jackson

SERVATUS LUPUS, A HUMANIST OF THE NINTH CENTURY

By Samuel Macauley Jackson, Late Professor of Church History in New York University

(*The Presidential Address, read December 31, 1912*)[1]

TO be the President of this Society puts one in a rare succession and is an honor to be coveted. I thank you for the election.

On casting about for a subject worthy of your attention and appropriate for this inaugural address I concluded to call you away from modern books and modern men to a distant past, no less strenuous than this present but after a different pattern. I take you from the twentieth to the ninth century, and from the magnificent buildings of this theological seminary to a lowly monastery on the banks of a little river in France. It is to the leader of the company, the abbot, I would introduce you. Take a good look at him for he is a fine fellow. His bearing is distinguished for gentle blood flows in his veins; those eyes betray his energy of character, his good humor, and kindly nature. His face is that of a scholar, and his conversation in its easy flow and information on a great variety of topics shows that he had intercourse with the choicest spirits of the past and of his

[1] On the seventh of November, 1910, Dr. Jackson delivered an address before Phi Beta Kappa at Rutgers College, on *Servatus Lupus*. On the eleventh of June, 1912, he began to rewrite this, to serve as his presidential address; but on the second of August his labors were ended by death. The latter part of the present paper did not receive his final revision.

own day. Yes, we are face to face with Servatus Lupus, the famous humanist of the ninth century, not unworthy to be called its Erasmus. By reason of the fact that 130 of his letters have been preserved we know more about many years of his life than about a corresponding stretch in most historical characters prior to modern times, for these letters are mostly autobiographic and admit us into his daily life so that we can share his joys and sorrows to a remarkable degree.

But outside of the years 830 to 862, covered by the Correspondence, Lupus cannot be dated with certainty. Eight hundred and five is commonly given as his birth year, and 864 as that of his death. Perhaps they were, but modesty suggests that we name him one of the Melchizideks, who are without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life (*Heb.* vii., 3), for we do not really know who his parents were, when he was born nor where, nor where he died. Conjecture, mainly based upon allusions in his Correspondence, seems, however, to show that Lupus was born not far from, perhaps in, Sens, seventy miles from Paris in a south-easterly direction, and the Correspondence shows plainly that he had many relatives of distinction in Church and State. A near relative, Archbishop Aldric, was his earliest patron. Lupus was the only name he was fairly entitled to; but he added, in view of some deliverance, the epithet Servatus and this came to be part of his name.

His life was that of a scholar, but in the direction of classical culture. His literary remains, aside from his Correspondence, are unimportant—being merely a brief and perfunctory contribution to the Gottschalk controversy, entitled "Three Questions," a collection of views corroborative of his position—which was on the whole on the side of Gottschalk—and a monastic life of St. Wigbert, Abbot of Fritzlar. Attributed to him is another monastic life, that of St. Maximinus, Bishop of Trèves; two homilies upon St. Wigbert and two hymns in his memory.

The Correspondence, however, is really interesting and important. It has often been printed and there are two excellent monographs[1] upon it, but strangely enough it has been neglected by the historical essayist. Thus in Poole's *Index*, which goes back to 1802, there is only one essay[2] on it; Ernest Cushing Richardson's remarkable and exhaustive collection of references, *Periodical Articles on Religion from 1890 to 1899* (N. Y., 1907), mentions only one article upon it, and the *Bibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriftenliteratur* for the beginning in 1896 to the end of 1910 none at all.

Let us now take up the Correspondence. The first letter is dated 830 and was written from Germany.[3] It is addressed to Einhard, the brilliant biographer of Charlemagne, and shows that Aldric, the archbishop of Sens, was responsible for introducing Lupus while he was still a child into the Benedictine monastery of Saints Mary and Peter at Ferrières-Fortunay, sixty-seven miles south-east of Paris, not to be confounded with Ferrières, seventeen miles south-east of Paris, where Bismarck and Jules Favre attempted to arrange terms of peace after the Franco-German War. In that monastery Lupus took the monastic vows. Aldric

[1] B. Nicolas, *Études sur les lettres de Servat-Loup*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1861; L. Levillain, *Étude sur les lettres de Loup de Ferrières* (*Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes*, tom. 62 et 63; cf. 64, Paris, 1902–1904). *Cf.* also F. Sprotte, *Biographie des Abtes Servatus Lupus*, Regensburg, 1880; E. Marckwald, *Beiträge zu Servatus Lupus*, Strassburg, 1894, and the titles collected by U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: Bio-bibliographie, nouvelle éd.*, tome ii., Paris, 1907, 2901 *f.*

[2] Harriet Waters Preston and Louise Dodge, *A Torch-Bearer* (*Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1891).

[3] Letter i.—The letters are quoted as numbered in the *Lettres du Servat Loup, Abbé de Ferrières: Texte, notes, et introduction, par. G. Desdevises du Dezert*, Paris, 1888. (*Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, fascicule, 77.) This numbering deviated for alleged chronological reasons from the sequence of the unique ancient codex of the Letters; but the latest editor, Ernst Dümmler, has printed them in the original order of the manuscript (*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, Epistolarumtomi vi. pars prior, Karolini ævi iv*, Berolini, 1902, 1–126). On p. 6 Dümmler presents both numberings in parallel columns.

noting the lad's wonderful capacity for scholarship sent him to Fulda, sixty miles east by north of Frankfort, because there the Preceptor of Germany, Hrabanus Maurus, the scholastic wonder of his time, was abbot. When Lupus entered there we know not, but he had made diligent use of the library at Fulda and cast his spell over the heart of Hrabanus. He addressed a string of questions to Einhard which shows his curiosity and his scholarship. He also begins in it the efforts of a lifetime to collect a classical library. When he wrote he had no personal acquaintance with Einhard; but the next letter—six years later—viz., 836,[1] presupposes that Lupus had won the favor, indeed the intimate friendship, of Einhard and his wife, who had put their son Vussin in Fulda as a monk. The occasion of the letter was the death of Einhard's wife Imma, the news of which had just reached Fulda. Lupus wrote a short and simple note of sympathy. Einhard replied in a lengthy and mournful epistle;[2] to which Lupus replied,[3] but as he attempted in labored fashion to read Einhard a lecture on bearing grief and at the same time to make a parade of his learning we take little pleasure in his letter. It contains however the information that Einhard had sent him and had dedicated to him his treatise on the "Adoration of the Cross." Curiously enough, this treatise was soon after lost and not found till 1886, when Ernst Dümmler discovered it in a Vienna MS. The fifth letter in this Correspondence is also to Einhard and reveals the intense interest Lupus had in classical matters, and his monastic indifference to the griefs of those who had had the usual experiences of life, for he plies Einhard with questions while he, poor man, was bending in sorrow under his new loss. In the previous letter Lupus had informed Einhard

[1] Letter ii.

[2] Letter iii., identical with letter 39a, translated in *The Letters of Einhard* (*Papers of the American Society of Church History*, second series vol. i., reprinted and enlarged, 1913, pp. 138–141).

[3] Letter iv.

that he was about to return to France in the middle of May, the year being 836; but now he says that he had had to postpone his journey till June 5th—which was Monday—and that he should leave the monastery on horseback. It was a long journey, some 350 miles, and not safe. A monk would stop at the monasteries over night, as they were his hotels, and, unlike the kind we know, presented no bills!

Lupus left Fulda to the regret of Hrabanus Maurus, whose favorite pupil he was. Hrabanus tells us that it was Lupus who induced him to write a commentary[1] upon Paul's Epistles. Lupus had studied hard and won a reputation for scholarship and qualified himself to teach the classics as his profession. He had also taken deacon's orders. Speaking of his life at Fulda he says: "I devoted my chief efforts there to reading and acquired [by copying, probably] a few books with a view both to guard against forgetting and to increase my knowledge." But he adds: "I did not undertake the burden of such great and long continued labor because seized by love of the German language, as some persons have most senselessly spread abroad,"[2] a passage which seems to show that the dislike of German things because they were German existed in the ninth century. But in another letter he confesses that the acquisition of German was really worth while.

Shortly after his return to Ferrières he was presented at the imperial court, at that time near Frankfort. He speaks himself of making a visit across the Rhine, and this must have been it.[3] He made a favorable impression on the imperial pair, Louis the Pious and his consort Judith. In his letter[4] to his brother, written on September 22, 838, he says: "Last year through the efforts of friends I was brought into the presence of the emperor and received with great kindness by him and the queen, and now I am summoned to the palace again at the urgent insistence of the queen, and many think that soon some dignity will be conferred upon me." But the emperor, Louis the Pious, died in 840, two

[1] See his preface. [2] Letter vi (xli). [3] Letter vii (xx). [4] Letter vi (xli).

years afterwards, and nothing had been done for him. Then the queen-mother reminded her son Charles the Bald of this promise of his father's and urged the claim of Lupus, who had meanwhile taken priest's orders. But Charles did nothing for him until 842, when it occurred to him that Odo, the Abbot of Ferrières, was an offensive partisan and must be removed, because in the time before Charles had been confirmed in his division of his father's empire he (Odo) had appealed to Lothair, as one of Lothair's subjects, it then being likely that Ferrières would fall into Lothair's division. That appeal is in the Lupus Correspondence[1] and anything more innocent it would be hard to find.

However, the king, bothered may we say by his mother's importunity, determined to remove Odo on this charge, ordered the monks of Ferrières to hold an election for abbot and to elect Lupus. This is what they did, and Lupus was thereupon summoned to court and his election confirmed. He was asked by Charles if Odo had retired and replied that he had, for that had been the agreement; but on Lupus's return from court he discovered to his horror that Odo was still there, and it required the payment of considerable money before he would budge. Lupus was much exercised lest the king should suppose that he had lied and called in the mediation of several persons to lay the exact facts before his majesty.[2]

The Correspondence shows that both before and after his elevation Lupus had two great ambitions, first to get a library of the classics and the Fathers, principally of the former, of course for his monastery, as he could have no private property; and his next ambition was to master these authors themselves. A German scholar[3] has counted quotations in this Correspondence from twenty-three profane and twenty-four patristic authors, so he realized his second ambition fairly well, considering his circumstances. Indeed, his letters before he became abbot deal almost entirely with the problems of classical scholarship.

[1] Letter xvi (xi). [2] Letter xxii (xxi). [3] Sprotte, pp. 147–160.

But the realization of the first ambition, to get a complete classical and patristic library together, was a formidable task. Nowadays it means merely the payment of so much money, but then the knowledge of the whereabouts of the books desired, or even that they existed anywhere, must be obtained, and when they were located, then the loan of these precious and ofttimes costly manuscripts must be arranged for. Copies must then be made. Comparisons of texts must be made, especially with some text of superior accuracy, and so elaborately a new text constructed, which was likely to be better than any previously existing. The Correspondence shows how keenly Lupus followed every hint where copies of the classics might be found, and how laboriously he compared text with text. Another thing to be considered in those troubled times was the safe transportation back and forth of the precious volumes. This comes out strikingly in this letter from Lupus to Hincmar, the archbishop of Reims, and the foremost ecclesiastic in France. It is dated end of 849, and reads thus:

Lupus to the distinguished bishop Hincmar, wishes everlasting welfare. I was afraid to send you Bede's commentary because the book is so large that it cannot be hidden in one's cloak nor comfortably carried in a handbag, and even if one or the other could be done one would have to fear meeting some band of villains whose cupidity would surely be kindled by the beauty of the manuscript and it would perhaps thus be lost to me and to you. Accordingly I can myself lend the volume to you most safely as soon as, if God will, we can come together in safety somewhere, and will do so.

It is pathetic to read that Ferrières had often only a portion of some author and could not get the rest, also how meager and often erroneous was the information as to the classics which Lupus possessed.

After Lupus had so laboriously gathered his treasures and had sat down to read them he was liable to be inter-

rupted in a particularly trying manner. It seems that abbots were in those days obliged to do military service, also that the revenues of their monasteries were, on demand, spent in providing soldiers. Some abbots enjoyed this experience. Lupus tells of one who had to be restrained, for he was so fond of fighting that he rode to the front of the battle line and exposed himself most recklessly. He was as full of ardor as that martial pope of the sixteenth century, Julius II.

Lupus tried to get out of the military obligation and makes his complaints, now jestingly and now in great earnestness, in quarters which he hoped would bring his complaint to the attention of the king. These campaigns frequently turned out disastrously. Once Lupus was taken prisoner and frequently he lost heavily. He says that he knew nothing about fighting and yet he was compelled to close his books, bid his monks a tearful farewell, and betake himself to the place of rally and remain on duty to his king for an indefinite period. But he had another and probably still more trying interruption. He would be summoned to court. He could not refuse to go but he had to spend much time there inwardly chafing. While thus in contact with royalty he acted as adviser to the king and also as amanuensis of the queen, for several such letters have been preserved; and he served in the same capacity for less exalted persons.

Not military service but the very mundane burden of providing food for his monastery constituted his principal ground of complaint for years after becoming abbot. It seems that there was an abbey at St. Josse, which was up in Picardy, not far from the British Channel and twenty miles south of Boulogne, 180 miles north of Ferrières. Alcuin had once been abbot there and Charlemagne and the popes had combined to increase its revenues. When Louis the Pious followed his father Charlemagne he gave this abbey of St. Josse to the monastery of Ferrières. Now the handling of a surplus does not usually trouble a corporation or an individual very

much, and so when the comparatively small—only seventy-two monks—and poor monastery of Ferrières found itself in possession of much more money than it wanted for their support it expanded. The monks set a better table, and got more to drink, for this monastery was by no means run on abstinent, still less on total abstinent principles, any more than are such monastic establishments of the present day, according to Mr. Joseph McCabe, who lived in one for many years. Then too the monastery expanded in its hospitality, so that it fed a greater crowd of needy ones and entertained more of the wayfarers and did it more generously. But, alas, the revenues which had enabled them to do these nice things came from St. Josse, and one day they learned to their consternation that their king had bestowed these revenues upon some favorite. Then came another upheaval in the division of the empire and Charles the Bald became their king. He took the revenues away from the favorite and restored them to Ferrières, and the monks breathed again. Only for awhile, however, for Charles found it convenient to curry favor with some man and so on him he bestowed these coveted revenues. Despair and gloom settled on Ferrières. When the first robbery, as they considered it, had taken place, Odo, the predecessor of Lupus, made a protest to the king, but though Lupus was the amanuensis of this letter, which has been preserved in this Correspondence, it was a mild affair compared to what he wrote on the subject when he became abbot; for the monastery had then begun to feel the loss very much. It is always hard to see your income diminishing and in this particular juncture the diminished income entailed much real suffering. Now Lupus was not the man to stand this state of things without letting every one know what he thought of it. He knew he had a high position which gave him influence. He was famous as a classical scholar, sought after as a teacher, abbot of a prominent monastery, a familiar and liked person at court. He was in correspondence with the principal men in the kingdom,

and even with the emperor and the pope. He determined to make his influence count for all it was worth, in the recovery of that lost revenue. So when he had got a bit settled in his abbatial chair he began what was literally a bombardment of letters, and kept it up for years with unflagging zeal. The first shot was pointed enough but its velocity was not great. It is addressed to a brother abbot, Hugo of Saint Martin of Tours. He writes:

> I venture to repose the utmost confidence in you, frequently considering the exceptional nobility in you and the wisdom in harmony with that nobility

—notice the fulsome compliments, quite characteristic, and alas, not yet discarded—

> Therefore when there had happened to me what I had not feared nor, as I think, deserved, namely, that my lord the king took away from us and gave to Count Odulf an abbey belonging to our monastery for which we have an edict both of his own and of his father's, his serene majesty my lord Louis, and had afterwards by inspiration of God and coöperation of that distinguished nobleman Adalhard restored it to us, as was becoming to him; I thought, and Adalhard himself especially suggested it, that I ought to appeal to you to restrain in your wisdom the dangerous greed of Odulf, and kindly see that the aforesaid abbey be restored to us. Let, therefore, by the love of God, your goodness celebrated far and wide come to our aid, in these distressing straits according to the royal edict as quickly as possible, that both compassion for our calamity may win you an everlasting reward and the remembrance of your benefits may be faithfully celebrated by us and our successors.[1]

But as time went on Lupus found himself no nearer his goal. The favorite was eating up their revenues. I cannot quote the letters he wrote on the subject. They were numerous and moving. They portray the destitution of his

[1] Letter xxx (lxxviii).

monastery in consequence of this loss. He appeals to his correspondents to exert themselves with the king. But he wrote a number of letters to the king himself. This is a fair specimen:

Most exalted lord, my King! I humbly beseech you to deign wisely to take cognizance of and to treat graciously this reminder of your most devoted retainer. That most religious Emperor Louis, your majesty's father, at the request of your mother, the Empress Judith, of glorious memory, bestowed upon the monastery of Ferrières the abbey of St. Josse, and confirmed his gift by an order, so that the monks might serve God in the monastery without want, and in the aforesaid abbey might extend hospitality in the fear of God to travelers, and might pray to God with rejoicing for the safety and well-being of both their majesties. Their charitable gift you at first kindly allowed, and even confirmed by a new order, but afterwards, yielding to the persuasions of men who fear not to enrich themselves with offense to God, you were compelled to revoke the twofold gift and fulfill a promise to a secular person in regard to the abbey. For this reason the servants of God, who constantly pray for you, have not received for three years their customary clothing and what they are forced to wear is threadbare and badly patched. They live on boughten vegetables

—that they should have to buy food seemed to him a great hardship, he alluded often to it—

and rarely have the comfort of fish and cheese, while the retainers fail to receive the garments due them. All these things used to be furnished from the aforesaid abbey. Oh, that God may not visit upon you the interruption there [at St. Josse] of the care of travelers from across the sea, and other unfortunates, and the neglect of the worship of Himself! And besides the general need and my special hardships I am weighed down by the heaviest burden of shame, because what other abbots have obtained from the imperial bounty for the firm maintenance of religion, I as though the meanest and most useless of all have lost. Yet cherishing the hope of recovering by service what, as God is

my witness, I have lost through no fault towards you, especially as I hold your promise in the matter which it were impious to break, I implore you not to delay longer to grant our just demand, but immediately to take measures for your own interests and ours that you may win God's favor for yourself and make us, the least of your retainers, more ready to intercede for you at all times.[1]

But still the King was unmoved. I will quote from a letter Lupus wrote to get the help of Hincmar, archbishop of Reims and the most powerful ecclesiastic in the kingdom:

The loss of that place of ours is known to you, namely how the king took away for no fault of mine the abbey which his father had bestowed upon us by edict, even, because he [*i. e.*, the emperor Louis the Pious] had found that the religious life of monks could not endure with us unless we received the support of greater resources. In consequence we have been reduced to such a degree of want that this year we have hardly grain enough to support us two months . . . and having expended in these troubled times of the State all that our predecessors had gathered together, we ask mercy from the king and patience from our common Lord. Therefore worn out with weariness by such need, I consider from time to time resigning the office to which I was elected by the brothers; but I am dissuaded from that by the thought of the pernicious greed of this world's people and of the charge of want of endurance if I should leave the brothers in such trouble. For though I have served the king with all my strength and more, and earnestly pray for him, I not only have not accomplished that he should contribute anything to the pittance of our convent but have even incurred the disgrace that he should hand over the best part of it to a secular person, to be not governed but destroyed. . . . What has the excellence of that secular person brought the king? Has he subdued any foreign people for him since? Has he settled the affairs of this kingdom divided against itself? If the king had fulfilled to God faithfully and without any respecting of persons the promise by which he bound himself, at your instance, I think, in the church of Saint

[1] Letter xlvi (lxxi).

Denis, nay, if he had at once accepted and acted upon the canons which were debated and promulgated at Verneuil, God would have already caused him to be reigning in peace.[1]

This allusion to the canons of Verneuil needs to be explained. They were drawn up by Lupus, and the reason why he liked them so much was that one of them ordered that as far as possible churches and monasteries should be restored to their former owners and governed as a rule by ecclesiastics rather than by the laity, a canon, you see, which was a rebuke to the king's action respecting St. Josse.

But nothing came of all these efforts. The king does not seem to have been offended by his importunity, for he had him at court for months at a time, but he did not withdraw the revenues. At last in 846 it was rumored that the detested Odulf was ill, but Lupus says that he was not "so dangerously ill as to be capable of reform through admonition, as I could wish, nor so seriously that he will die, which because of his certain damnation I should be sorry for." In 849 Odulf died, and the king restored the revenues of St. Josse to Ferrières. There are several letters written from that abbey and they breathe a contentment which is almost beyond belief in those "troubled times."

Private letters reveal a man as nothing else does, and as I have pored over these letters of Lupus I have gotten an impression of what sort of man he was. You would probably get a different and truer conception. To me he stands forth in that stormy period as above all things else a lover of learning and as willing for its sake to make great sacrifices. To know was his absorbing passion. But because the bent of his mind was secular he was attracted by Rome and Greece and it was their literature which he mastered. He was a kindly man with a fund of humor which enabled him to sustain with cheerful courage the infelicities of his lot. He was far from being a genius. His letters show culture

[1] Letter xlvii (xlii).

but they are not profound. He was no philosopher, no poet, not even a theologian. He is identified with no reform, does not seem to have been consulted by the ecclesiastical leaders of his time. So he is not prominent in religious but in secular history. Glancing at his private life I would say that he was very fond of good eating and could not be elected to the meanest office on the Prohibition ticket. In some mysterious way he got the epithet of "Blessed" but I fail to find anything saintly about him, or in his correspondence. To be sure, his letters of that character may have perished, but it is more likely that those which have been preserved are fair specimens.

So he lived his life, and it was a good and useful life. He gathered a noteworthy library when such collections were rare and cost much labor, and so was one of the chief benefactors to scholarship. We owe a great debt to these monastic toilers; they have preserved the classics for us. His fund of knowledge was the wonder and pride of his contemporaries. Master of an admired Latin style, he was frequently called upon to put into correct shape the findings of the various Church councils he attended. Gifted with that rare quality called "common sense" he was the chosen adviser of his King and lived much at court.

Let us thank him for these services and for those 130 letters which tell us of them and let us thank God who has preserved them for us. They make the ninth century much nearer to us. By means of them we hear the hum of markets, the tramp of men. We get a whiff of the corruption of courts, including the pope's. We blink as the fierce light which beats on a throne momentarily falls on us. Across the stage clad in gorgeous apparel flit the weak creatures who were called kings but knew not how to rule. In stately procession still more gorgeously apparelled move the ecclesiastics who are the real rulers of the period. Suddenly while we read the cry is raised, "The Norsemen are come!"—alas! it was often heard—and instantly soldiers fly to arms,

abbots attended by companies of retainers flock to the royal standard. Kings take the field. For a while there is hurry and scurry, trembling and fainting. The foe is repelled. The king reassembles his court, the bishops return to their palaces, the abbots to their monasteries. The world breathes again.

You will find in this volume a complete translation of the letters, made by my friend Mr. Henry Preble, so you can read them for yourselves.[1]

I am grateful to the man who has given us this information. If I have interested you in him then you will have made a valued acquaintance in the ninth century, Lupus, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Ferrières.

[1] At its annual meeting in 1913, the Society voted with regret to postpone the printing of the *Letters of Servatus Lupus*, for financial reasons. They would occupy about 144 pages of this volume. Mr. Preble's translation of the *Life of St. Wigbert, Abbot of Fritzlar*, by Servatus Lupus (about 8000 words) also awaits publication. Wigbert was an Anglo-Saxon associate of Bonifatius.

On the Medieval National Church

By

Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.

ON THE MEDIEVAL NATIONAL CHURCH

By Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., Professor of Church History in the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia

(*The Presidential Address, read December 30, 1913*)

I

THAT *Magna Carta* guarantees to every Englishman trial by jury is in some legal circles an almost inerradicable conviction. As firmly rooted in many ecclesiastical circles is a belief in respect to the first clause of that great document: *quod Anglicana Ecclesia libera sit.* Though the historical meaning of the phrase is indisputable, it is constantly used in a false sense. It is supposed to have defined a fundamental principle of English ecclesiastical policy although not immediately realized. Just as trial by jury was definitively established only in the contest with the Stuarts, so this great principle of liberty was only secured for the Church at the Reformation; at that time the *Anglicana Ecclesia* became free and received its birthright assured it in the Charter. This quaint perversion of the meaning of the phrase may in some points be connected with the indisputable fact of the religious and administrative continuity of the Church of England; and the legal status of the modern Church of England has come to be regarded as practically identical with that of the *Anglicana Ecclesia* contemplated by the Charter. That the *libertas electionum*, the liberty especially referred to in *Magna Carta*, has totally dis-

appeared, lost at the Reformation, seems not in the least to have effected the popular ecclesiastical interpretation. But closely connected with that belief as to *Magna Carta* and the Church is a commonplace of English legal tradition, universal since the sixteenth century, that the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, which term may be conveniently used throughout this discussion to designate the medieval Church in England as distinguished from the Church in modern times, stood in some exceptional legal relation to the rest of Western Christendom and to the Roman See and that that See had usurped at some time an authority over that Church not recognized either by the Church or the State. In the exposition of this theory the point is often made that Pope Urban recognized this exceptional position when, according to William of Malmesbury,[1] he introduced Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to a Roman synod as *quasi alterius orbis papam*.

The logical result of this supposed freedom of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* was that that Church was not subject to the Canon Law except in so far as it freely received it. So closely connected are the two ideas that they stand or fall together. Only if the Church was autonomous was it free in the sense assumed; if the Canon Law as derived from the See of Rome was binding only because it was received and only so far as received, that Church could not be regarded as subject in any legal or constitutional sense subject to that see. For this reason the question as to the force of Roman Canon Law in medieval England is of larger significance than at first appears.

The most famous expression of the doctrine that Roman Canon Law, *i. e.*, the law of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, the *jus commune*, was not binding *proprio vigore* is the Preamble to 24 Henry VIII., c. 12 "Restraint of Appeals",[2] almost every phrase of which admits of a long and curious history.

[1] *De Gest. Pontif.*, p. 100 (Rolls Series).

[2] *Cf.* Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, London 1896, p. 187.

The doctrine of reception as thus stated was followed as a legal axiom down to modern times. It was given classic expression in Blackstone's *Commentaries*[1] and judicially applied, perhaps for the last time in a case of importance, in Regina *vs.* Millis in 1843. The crushing criticism which that decision received at the hands of historical scholars might have ended the belief in the legal principle as a statement of history, if it had only gone to the root of the matter. In 1883 it reappeared as vigorous as ever in the *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Constitution and Working of the Ecclesiastical Courts*, a document containing some fearful and wonderful distortions of history. It was not seriously attacked again until the publication by Prof. F. W. Maitland of a series of papers in the *English Historical Review*, republished in 1898 under the title *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*. The opinion of Professor Maitland has been very widely accepted and his success is due to his skillful use of Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, which shows at once the very small amount of indigenous law, or Canon Law, enacted in England, the attitude of lawyers towards the Roman Canon Law, the law of the *Corpus Juris* or the *jus commune* of the Western Church. There has recently appeared a work[2] which traverses the contentions of Maitland, basing its case upon a fresh examination of Lyndwood's work. Mr. W. G. F. Phillimore, in his article "Canon Law" in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, although abandoning the extreme Henrician and Blackstonian position of W. F. Hunter in the 9th edition of that work, rejects the fundamental position of Professor Maitland. Dr. Phillimore sums up that position in two propositions: "That in those ages there was no theory that 'reception' here was necessary to validate papal decrees" and "that from the Conquest down to Henry VIII the Church of England was regarded by churchmen not as in any sense a separate entity, but as two provin-

[1] Vol. i., 80.

[2] A. Ogle, *The Canon Law in Medieval England*, London, 1912.

ces of the extra-territorial, super-national, Catholic Church, and that the Pope at this period was contemplated as the princeps of this Catholic Church, whose edicts bound everywhere, as those of Augustus had bound in the Roman world." Dr. Phillimore is substantially correct in this statement of Professor Maitland's position, he dissents from it in favor of a theory of reception.

The receptionist theory of Canon Law, it is evident, makes the *Ecclesia Anglicana* a separate entity. According to it, the Church in England is an ecclesiastical organization with its own system of synods or legislature, its courts, and its laws. Either in synod or in courts it might accept foreign legislation. But this acceptance would in no respect diminish the liberty or independence of that Church. It might reject as well as accept. It would be merely parallel to the reception accorded much Roman Civil Law in Equity and other courts, a parallel which Blackstone, the great exponent of the receptionist theory, points out. And one might go further, for the history of Canon Law until the time of Gratian is a record of constant borrowing little different from "reception."

Professor Maitland's work is not without its defects, but it rests on incontestable ground in his thoroughgoing application of the distinction between the two systems of courts in England and consequently the two systems of law. This is the key to his whole position. There were, as he correctly points out, two provinces in England ecclesiastically connected only by their being parts of the supernational Catholic Church, though their metropolitans sat side by side at Westminster, as was the case in France. Now, whatever was the case in Anglo-Saxon times, in the thirteenth century and after there was no synod or ecclesiastical council comprising the Church of the whole realm to legislate for the two provinces. There is none such to-day. Convocation consists of two independent bodies, the Northern and the Southern Convocations, though the former is far less im-

portant. According to the medieval Canon Law, there was no way for any national council or synod of the Church to assemble except by papal rescript or under a papal legate, as in the case of councils held by Otho and Othobon. There was no supreme judicature other than that of Rome to which appeals might be taken from either province. There was no body of Canon Law which obtained throughout England which was enacted in England. The Northern Convocation accepted the canons of the Southern Province only towards the end of the fifteenth century. These are facts which do not admit of dispute. And yet there was what was constantly spoken of as the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. If it had no legislative body covering the whole country, no courts which terminated within the country cases of appeal, and no common body of law, what was that *Ecclesia Anglicana?*

In the Middle Ages, it needs hardly to be pointed out, there was no such corporation as the *Ecclesia Anglicana* as a legal person, *persona ficta*, holding endowments. The law of corporations had not advanced sufficiently to make such an idea possible. There were cathedral churches that were corporations, monasteries that were corporations, even parishes that were in a sense corporations. These ecclesiastical institutions were the most numerous class of what we recognize as corporations and formed a model for others. In the same way there was no Roman Catholic Church that was the subject of endowments. The *Ecclesia Romana*, whatever its place was in the hierarchical system it matters not now, in legal idea was the see or church of the city of Rome. Like any other see or church it was the subject of property rights, in the same way that they were, though those rights were far more extensive. The fundamental legal difference between the *Ecclesia Romana* and the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, similar as the terms appear, is that the former is a corporation, a *universitas*, to use the legal term, and the latter, strictly speaking, is a geographical expression, though it included many *universitates*. Nevertheless there is

an element of justice in Lyndwood's statement that the *Ecclesia Anglicana* is in a sense a *universitas* and enjoys liberties peculiar to itself.[1] It is too often spoken of as an entity to be brushed aside merely because the law of the times could not recognize its corporate capacity. The discussion takes a larger form. What were national churches in the Middle Ages?

Any profitable discussion of the character of the Medieval National Church, and that of England in particular, should go further than a mere cross-examination of Lyndwood. It is a point gained if it is admitted that what the *Ecclesia Anglicana* meant can be determined only by what the pre-Reformation centuries tell us. Here Maitland's work stands out as truly epoch-making. He goes back of Henry VIII's statute. Yet he shares in the persistent tendency of English canonists to treat England and the *Ecclesia Anglicana* apart from the rest of Latin Christendom. The advocates of the receptionist theory have always asserted that their position was justified by the existence of local customs and liberties not found elsewhere. They cite Lyndwood who says that there are liberties of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* differing from those of the Church as a whole. Maitland admits their existence, denies their importance, and explains them away, in harmony with the principles of Canon Law, as due to consuetude. He is substantially right so far as he goes. He should have gone further. What a change would have taken place in the controversy if it had been clearly seen from the beginning that there was what was known as the *Ecclesia Gallicana* which boasted of its local customs and liberties not found elsewhere. To do this one does not have to point to the forged Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX, the list drawn up by Pierre Pithou, or even the famous Declaration of 1682. Does

[1] *Cf.* Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, p. 266, v. *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Quæ in sui totalitate quandam Universitatem importat respectu suiipsius: et sic ejus libertas potest dici universalis, licet in aliquibus differat a libertate Ecclesiæ generalis Universalis.*

it follow from their existence that in the *Ecclesia Gallicana* the Roman Canon Law was not in force except so far as it had been received? It may be observed in passing that at the time of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438, French lawyers referred to the position held in the Church by Merovingian and Carlovingian rulers, in much the way as the statute of Henry VIII, "On Restraint of Appeals," referred to "divers, sundry old authentic histories and chronicles," unfortunately not more precisely cited, to show the position of the English King in the Church of his realm. Furthermore, French legists and canonists down to the time of the French Revolution commonly held, and that too by reasoning exactly parallel to that of their English contemporaries, that the Roman Canon Law never was binding in France *proprio vigore*, but only so far as it had been received, although constantly cited and taught.[1] One is tempted to believe that the receptionist theory of the force of Canon Law which appeared in England a few years before Henry's statute is to be traced ultimately to French lawyers.

It can be clearly shown that the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, far from being unique in enjoying peculiar liberties and customs not general in the law of the Church, was merely one among the various Churches so privileged, that the *Ecclesia Gallicana* is by no means its only rival in the enjoyment of peculiar liberties, and customs not recognized by the *jus commune*. If the comparative method of study is followed with the premise that a Church which enjoys peculiar liberties and customs is a national Church, as such in a real sense a *universitas* or corporation, or was not subject to the Roman Canon Law except so far as it had received it, and by this reasoning the case for the unique position of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* has been made out, it will be necessary to conclude that such was the case not merely in England but in France, Germany, Spain, and in short in every country in Europe until the student is forced to ask, "Was the Roman

[1] *Cf.* Esmein, *Histoire du droit français*, Paris, 1906, p. 797.

Canon Law anywhere in force *proprio vigore?*" What we have here is largely a matter of historical method. In an address, however, such as this, it seems that attention should be called to problems of method rather than to discussion of detail. The discussion as to the national character of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* and the *Ecclesia Gallicana*, the most important instances of this line of investigation, has been carried on as though the other did not exist. Both in England and France the national Church has been treated almost entirely in isolation. The subject must be treated according to a comparative method if conclusions are to be reached of any value. Before any independence or unique legal relation can be deduced from the existence of local customs, limitations, and exceptions to the *jus commune* of the Western Church, the fact must be established that the existence, not of certain special but of legal customs, limitations, and exceptions in general, was unique and peculiar to the Church of any country. If, from facts observed in England, Anglican historians and canonists deduce a legal freedom and the existence of an independent national Church in England, and Gallican historians and canonists make a similar deduction from facts observed in France, their arguments, although not strictly nullifying each other, for there might be two exceptional national Churches, are yet rendered worthless if it can be shown that facts in Germany, Sicily, Scotland, Norway, Denmark, and elsewhere warrant equally well the same conclusion for the Church in these countries. This aspect of the argument seems not to have received the attention it deserves. It is, however, vital to the whole discussion.

To follow up this part of the comparative method of studying the question of the national medieval Church would be tedious on an occasion such as this. It would necessarily plunge the discussion into a mass of detail. It has been merely indicated. There is another aspect which may be profitably discussed even though it deals with quite well-known facts. It can be shown that everywhere, in places

and parties most loyal to the Roman See, there was in the Church a sense of nationality opposed to the merely hierarchical conception of the Church and its organization, that everywhere there were social forces and institutions which tended to develop the national Church spirit whereby it was regarded as more than distinct provinces united as members of a supernational Church, which was the actual form of the legal constitution. It can also be shown that the results of these forces in England and France, where the national spirit was especially pronounced, were not due to fundamental ecclesiastical principles, but to local circumstances and the form taken by the secular constitution. These two lines of inquiry I propose to suggest somewhat fully, pointing out what seems to me to be the leading factors of the problem. When this has been done it will be in place to apply some results to the question as to the position of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* as shown by its legal or canonical system, in relation to the Church of the West and the Roman See.

Before passing to the consideration of the first of these topics, one should note the very general resistance of the national spirit in the Church to the merely hierarchical organization as shown in the provincial organization of the Church, noting at the same time some limitations to the effects of this resistance.

The hierarchical principle of Church organization, to which the national principle is opposed, is simple and intelligible. Though there are variations and exceptions it was substantially as follows: The laity are subject, in the first instance, to the parish priest; the latter in turn to the bishop of the diocese, though for convenience of diocesan administration there might intervene deans and archdeacons; the bishop in his turn was subject to the nominal authority of the archbishop of the province, but more effectively to the bishop of the Apostolic See, the Pope. In a rather unclear way the Pseudo-Isidore recognized the *Primas* of a kingdom. But the primacy was little more than a title of honor; except

so far as it was joined to a legation it gave no authority over other provinces than that of the primate as archbishop. Hierarchically there was no form of organization between the province and the universal Church, such as might have been a national Church made up of several provinces and under the primate of the kingdom.

The hierarchical organization, in its first application, conformed for the most part to natural or political divisions, though in the East more completely than in the West. It was not to be expected that in the shifting boundaries of incipient states the Church should continually adjust itself to the very varying fortunes of war or dynastic succession. In the anarchy of Merovingian Gaul or of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, the Church refused to recognize political boundaries. In both England and France there was ecclesiastical unity when there was not national unity. Yet in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the ecclesiastical divisions were for the most part according to well-defined racial or political principles. The force of national feeling and the feudal relation in which the sees and greater abbeys stood made an international province difficult to administer. On the boundaries between France and the Empire there were, however, some exceptions, points at which the international and the provincial boundaries did not coincide. For a long time the Archbishop of Rheims had jurisdiction over a portion of the Empire (Cambrai). Lyons was at one time in the Empire and at another in France, yet its ecclesiastical province remained unaltered, comprising sees in both countries. The ever-varying extension of English power in France does not seem to have affected the ecclesiastical divisions of that country.

The adjustment of ecclesiastical divisions to political lines takes place too frequently to be passed over as merely accidental. Some principle other than the hierarchical and opposed to it is clearly at work. Offa in his rapidly advancing Mercia resented the authority of the Kentish metropoli-

tan at Canterbury, and founded the short-lived archbishopric of Lichfield. Brittany broke away in 848 from the Frankish Empire and consequently Dol became an archbishopric, able to resist until 1199 the Archbishop of Tours to whose province it had formerly belonged. The Danish dioceses were organized under their own metropolitan, the Archbishop of Lund, in 1137. The bishops of Norway and Sweden soon after followed in the same path of independence and came into a national church organization. Cambrai passed in 1169 to the province of Cologne, having formerly been under Rheims. Narbonne about the same time lost rights over the dioceses in the Spanish March. The Danish bishoprics of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, in spite of connections fostered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, passed into the body of the Irish Church. In 1188, King William of Scotland obtained a papal bull fully releasing the sees of his kingdom from the province of York. To name but one more instance of the working of the same spirit, there is the erection of the Archbishopric of Prague in 1344, which took place when Bohemia, always racially distinct, was becoming too powerful a kingdom in the loose confederation known as the Empire, to be subject ecclesiastically to the Archbishop of Mainz. What lay behind these changes, setting aside or correcting the existing hierarchical system, is the national spirit in the Church which must be reckoned with in understanding the medieval Church.

As evidence, however, of the nationality of a Church, such a term as *Ecclesia Anglicana* has figured over-prominently. The term gave a name; it was easy to confuse what it stood for with a later conception. Nothing whatever can be built upon this phrase or others like it. As used they are commonly little more than geographical expressions, a collective term for the many dioceses or provinces into which the nation was divided ecclesiastically. Englishmen use the phrase in protests made to English kings as well as to Roman pontiffs and the French use the corresponding phrase in

similar conditions. Both speak of the *consuetudines* of their respective churches meaning the points in which the law differed from the *jus commune*. But on the other hand popes, in decretals which have been incorporated in the *Corpus juris canonici*, do not hesitate to speak of the *Ecclesia Gallicana* and its *consuetudines*.[1] But the use of such terms is not by any means limited to England and France.[2] Gregory IX mentions the *Ecclesia Hungarica* in one of his decretals[3] and even speaks of the *Ecclesia Marrochitana*[4] referring to the newly planted Franciscan mission in Morocco. The list might be extended indefinitely.[5] The terms do not imply of necessity any anti-hierarchical or pro-national bias. In the famous case of John and *Magna Carta*, the *Ecclesia Anglicana* asserted and hoped to obtain rights founded in Canon Law but opposed to a century-long prescription of the Crown; for the *libertas ecclesiastica* of the medieval church always means hierarchical privilege.[6] One of the most arrogant hierarchical claims ever put forth by a local council is that of the synod of Weile in Denmark (Easter, 1257), yet it speaks of the *Ecclesia Daciana* and the action of the council was promptly confirmed by Alexander IV.[7] In the dispute in 1329 before Philip of Valois on clerical privileges the

[1] C. 1, X. i., 5 *infra;* c. 55, X. i., 6; c. 15, X. iii., 5; c. 11, X. iii., 41 *infra;* c. 2, X. iv. 15 *infra;* c. 3, X. v., 5.

[2] Of the many hundred decretals addressed to England and incorporated in the *Corpus juris canonici* the phrase *Ecclesia Anglicana* does not seem to occur, though it is easy to overlook such a phrase.

[3] C. 15, X., ii., 23.

[4] *Cf.* Gams, *Kirchengeschichte Spaniens*, iii., 1, p. 165, note.

[5] *Ecclesia Scotiana*, Ep. Clement III. ad Guil. Reg. Scotorum, Mansi, xxii., 548 and Cælestin. III., Mansi, xxii, 613; see also Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii., 576; *Hibernensis Ecclesia*: Synod of Cashel, 1172, Mansi, xxii., 133. The phrase *Ecclesia Hispanica* does not seem to occur in medieval documents or at least rarely. If this is so it is probably because of the very divided state of the country, whereby ecclesiastical provinces were nearly coterminous with independent states.

[6] *Cf.* c. 25, X., ii., 28.

[7] *Cf.* Münter, *Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark und Norwegen*, ii., 176. The form Daciana for Danish was in use at the time; *cf.* Raynaldus, *Annales*, Ann. 1257, n. 297; Hardouin, *Concilia*, vii., 499; Mansi, *Concilia*, xxiii., 945.

Archbishop of Sens claims special hierarchical privileges or liberties for the *Ecclesia Gallicana* a hundred years before Lyndwood speaks of the special privileges of the *Ecclesia Anglicana.*[1] How freely, indeed, carelessly, or indifferently these terms were commonly used may be illustrated by their employment in the great dispute among theologians and canonists as to the element in marriage which rendered it indissoluble. Gratian and the Bolognese canonists made it consist in *consensus cum copula.* Peter Lombard, with an evident reference to Gratian's doctrine, and the other French theologians and canonists, made it consist in a *consensus de præsenti.* Rufinus in his *Summa*[2] in his comment on the passage in Gratian, says that the latter doctrine was held by the *Ecclesia Francorum;* the contemporaneous *Summa Parisiensis* says that it was held by the *Ecclesia Franciæ.*[3] The *Summa Coloniensis* says that on this point the *Gallicana et Transalpina ecclesia dissentiunt.*[4] And yet in this period, or a little before, there was a great sensitiveness felt at Rome over any action in matters of faith by a local or national Church, *e. g.*, the indignation of the cardinals at the action of Bernard and the *Ecclesia Gallicana* against Peter Abelard.[5]

II

In tracing the influences in the Medieval Church which did most to foster the sense of nationality as opposed to the current hierarchical conception of the ecclesiastical organization, three may be noted:

(1) The participation of the local Church or the Church of the country as a whole in the general fortunes of the nation.

[1] *Cf.* Gieseler, *Church History* (Eng. trans., New York, 1858), § 108, n. 13.

[2] C. 19, D. 34.

[3] *Cf.* Freisen, *Geschichte des canonischen Eherechts*, Tübingen, 1888, p. 186.

[4] *Ibid. Cf.* also the phrase of Alexander II., *paratum esse dicto curiæ Domini sui Regis Francorum vel judicio Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ aut Scholarium Parisiensium. Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, (Rolls Series), vii., p. 164.

[5] *Cf.* Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici Imp.*, i., 60.

(2) The place of the local Church in the constitutional system of the nation.

(3) The policy of the Roman See toward the local Church.

1. The economic and social conditions, the fortunes of war, the policy of rulers, the innumerable common experiences that bind a people together, these all are to be considered in tracing the development of the spiritual unity which underlies the nationality of any part of the Church. It is not a mere coincidence that the Hundred Years' War with its desolation and misery, followed by almost miraculous triumphs preceded the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438), or the more splendid period of the reign of Louis XIV the Declaration of Gallican Liberties (1682). The economic advance of the German people preceded alike the establishment of the *Reichskammergericht* and the *Gravamina der Deutschen Nation.* The *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* appealed to an aroused national consciousness which was concerned in more than secular matters. The maritime enterprise and the economic development of England must be studied to understand the ready acceptance of the national ecclesiastical policy of Henry VIII. The great national development of Spain in the fifteenth century created a Church which was more completely identified with the nation and under the royal authority than any other church before the Reformation. Events and movements such as these may seem indefinite. But so long as the Church is made up of actual men living in a real world, they have their place in Church History.

The great abbeys and cathedral churches of every country, as endowed with extensive temporal possessions, with corresponding rights and duties, were constantly involved in the political life of the nation. William the Conqueror in Normandy and later in England, the German Emperors from Otto I to Frederick II, the Normans in Sicily, the French kings, all treated Church lands as a main support of the Crown and its policy. The political necessities of the

sovereign could not fail to weld together the national Church of every country. The inherent weakness of the feudal State was to some extent corrected by the royal control of the ecclesiastical fiefs. Men were placed in spiritual offices because of their devotion to their sovereign. They were not the fawning courtiers as often painted, when they supported a national policy involving the Church in an opposition to a Catholic or hierarchical policy, as in the backing the German Emperors received in the German Church in their many conflicts with the papacy, or the support Henry II of England received in connection with the Constitutions of Clarendon. It may be that the Church of a country threw its influence in the support of a candidate for the Crown, as in the case of Stephen of England, or helped to build up the royal authority as was the case in Denmark under the splendid leadership of Archbishop Absalon of Lund (1128–1201). Sometimes the ecclesiastics made common cause with the laity, as when Stephen Langton and the bishops of England combined with the barons against John and in common action developed their sense of national solidarity. Sometimes the Church had to stand opposed to the laity in the defense of its rights, as at the synod of Weile (1257) when, in the anarchy following the death of Valdemar II (1242), the *Ecclesia Daciana* was forced to stand together in a new way as a matter of self-defense against lawlessness. Sometimes, as in the case of Philip Augustus of France, the cathedral churches and abbeys placed themselves especially under royal protection as a defense from the lawless nobility.

2. The constitutional position of the Church in the nation contributed to develop the national spirit in the Church, and that too in proportion as the monarchy was centralized. The Church as a whole must deal with the ruler. The law was, in general, the same throughout his dominions. The exceptions to this are relatively few and prove the rule. Thus after the duchy of Normandy was annexed by Philip Augustus an important instance arose. The Norman prac-

tice in regard to advowsons was the same in Normandy as in England. They were justiciable only in king's courts. At the request of the clergy, Philip Augustus effected a compromise, without, however, bringing the law of the province into complete conformity with that of the rest of his territories. Another exception is the provision of the Concordat of Worms, whereby investiture in parts of the Empire outside of Germany followed consecration, but within the Empire proper preceded. But this difference affected the situation little if any. The German Church naturally felt its national position as distinguished from the Church in other parts of the heterogeneous composite known as the Empire. But apart from these and the developed *Landrecht* in the later period of the Empire, and especially in the case of the imperial cities, there is little limitation to the position stated. The Church as an element in the national social organization necessarily developed with the development of the country and, because of its functions on its secular side especially, as a part of the constitutional system. The canonical theories might run counter to nationalism. Theological speculations might justify the extreme claims of curialistic canonists. The stubborn facts of human nature remained.

This constitutional position of the Church in the nation is shown in two ways: in the place of the courts Christian and in the matter of taxation.

(*a*) The State was ever enlarging the jurisdiction of its courts. It was a part of the social evolution. The Church, however, as having the cure of souls and the administration of the sacraments, was doing the same and it saw no theoretical limit to its jurisdiction. Against this universal competence the State everywhere had to define those legal topics, jurisdiction in which it felt was essential to its well-being. It had, however, no idea of universal jurisdiction. It was unthinkable that it should have jurisdiction in the matter of a sacrament, and when it appeared to do so it was always some other aspect of the case which was discussed. What

remained after the State had taken what it claimed was left to the Church to assume. There were no concordats. If one party encroached upon the other, recourse was had to such means of defense as were at hand. There resulted, accordingly, for each national Church a body of rights and privileges consecrated by custom and technically known as *libertates*. They were not granted by the Crown, but recognized by it. There was no theory that the State was omnipotent or that it was the source of all rights and privileges. In no two countries were these liberties identical. Each national Church adjusted itself to the national constitution and strove to maintain and increase its liberties. Its legal system therefore differed in different lands as to extent and fullness and to that extent the nationalism of the Church was expressed. Still, when a case fell to its jurisdiction the law, except in those rare cases when there was a local consuetude to the contrary, was the *jus commune* of the Church. It is an anachronism to regard such law as thereby merely received by the State or by the national Church or as being in any sense "King's Ecclesiastical Law." Neither the jurisdiction of the court nor its law was derived from the King. A legal fiction might afterwards be invented to explain the existence of such law in a nation but, useful as a legal fiction may be in courts of law, it is not to be taken as historical evidence without considerable interpretation.

(*b*) In the matter of direct taxation, supplementing the customary feudal aids, the Church in a nation was dealt with as a whole when the laity of a nation was thus dealt with by the ruler. The ordinary means of Church taxation in the thirteenth century was by a papal bull granted to a sovereign, ostensibly for a crusade, giving the rate, usually a tenth, upon the movables of the clergy of his country. Thus in France from 1188, the year of the Saladin tithe, to 1294, the year of the accession of Boniface VIII, for forty-eight years out of one hundred and six, the *décime ecclésiastique* was thus granted. At the collections an accredited agent of

the Pope assisted. A similar system was followed elsewhere. After the conflict of Philip the Fair and Edward I with Boniface, taxation without papal intervention became the rule. The Church in a nation was thus brought within the movement of national life. The clergy became an estate of the realm, as in England and France; but under a form of constitution peculiar to each country. A Church estate naturally forms the backbone of a national ecclesiastical organization.

3. The papal taxation of the Church was the complement to the national taxation. The papacy was forced by the political theories of the times to become a political entity. If the *Ecclesia Romana* was the subject of proprietary and jurisdictional rights in the same way as the *Ecclesia Tolosana* or the *Ecclesia Saresburiensis*, it also enjoyed certain rights over other churches, especially the episcopal sees, but also abbeys and conventual houses. These rights were construed after the analogy of the feudal law, *e. g.*, the relief of primer seisin, one year's full rent, common to England and France, finds its analogue in the papal claim to annates. But the bishops in turn exercised the same right toward the beneficed clergy of their dioceses. Other reliefs and fines find analogues. But the greater Church also stood in a feudal relation to a secular suzerain. The exigencies of this dual relationship forced the ecclesiastical suzerain to treat with each national Church as a whole. The clergy constantly complained of the rate which was often very high and varied according to the country. Sometimes they were protected by the King, at other times they were deserted by him and only grumbled and paid. And yet it can be clearly seen that just as the people were forced by secular taxation to recognize their community of interest and to take their place in the State's developing constitution, opposing royal rapacity and misrule, so in course of the development of the papal taxation of the national Churches the ecclesiastics of each country were forced to recognize their common interests and

to consider the relation of their national Church to the quasi-political policies of the *Ecclesia Romana*, and without thinking of renouncing allegiance to the See of Peter as the center and source of Catholic unity, to feel entitled to a national ecclesiastical life. This tendency culminated at the Council of Constance.

III

Such were in brief the principal springs of ecclesiastical nationalism everywhere. What influences were especially felt in the Church in England? In the twelfth and thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the *Ecclesia Anglicana* was undoubtedly more under the influence of the national spirit than any other part of Latin Christianity. The more important appear to be:

1. The position of the bishoprics and great conventual corporations in the feudal system of England.

2. The strong central authority of the King, early established, and the consequent development of the King's courts.

3. The form taken by Convocation as representing the spiritual estate of the realm.

4. The feudal relation of England to the Roman See at the time of the last great struggle with the Hohenstaufen.

5. The disputes on patronage leading to anti-papal legislation in the fourteenth century.

(1) Looking at these points a little in detail, it will be recalled in connection with the first that from the time of the Conquest the feudal relation of the bishops and great abbots to the King, as they held their lands *in capite* as barons, constituted a close bond of union between them and the Crown. In Germany the same was the case. All bishops and great abbots there held of the Emperor. In both countries the Crown controlled the appointment to sees and great abbeys. In the political development or rather constitutional dis-

integration of the Empire, the Church slipped from the hands of the Emperor; the national spirit almost disappeared in the Empire; the great ecclesiastics, along with the other princes, obtained sovereign rights and followed local political interests, and a German Church became little more than a geographical expression. In England, however, the Crown never lost its hold on the bishoprics and great abbeys, which always remained strictly feudatory. John might solemnly abandon the right to control elections, might promise that *Anglicana ecclesia libera sit*, but neither he nor his successors regarded that particular liberty of the Church which had been pledged in Magna Carta. Consequently, though the Church might at any time oppose the King as did the temporalty, yet it never fell apart or away from the Crown. In France there was not that immediate relation to the King. The feudal system, in England primarily a mode of holding land, retained in France much of its governmental significance. For a time not a few bishops did not hold of the King. In the great fiefs of Normandy, Aquitaine, Languedoc, and Brittany, the sees were long entirely in the hands of the count of the province when they had not passed into the hands of the local count or viscount. After the Gregorian reforms they experienced some relief, but they did not come under the Crown. Only with the extension of the royal authority and especially in the fifteenth century was the royal power in respect to the sees greatly augmented, but the situation was then wholly changed and other forces were at work in effecting the rise of a national spirit in the Church.

(2) In England the centralization of the government from the time of the Conquest and the consequently vastly increased royal authority made for the early development of the royal courts with a sharp definition of their relation to courts Christian. Such assizes as those of Darrein Presentment and *Utrum* were triable only in king's courts where a jury of twelve men ascertained as questions of fact who presented last to a living in dispute or whether a certain parcel

of land was lay fee or free alms. Only in England was there a judicial system sufficiently developed to maintain such a jurisdiction. There was no advantage here in an appeal to the Roman See; these matters were settled in the English courts. The *Ecclesia Anglicana* had to adjust itself in this matter as best it could to the royal demands which cut straight across the *jus commune* of the Church. In other countries, especially in France, the contest between the secular and the ecclesiastical courts often resembled guerrilla warfare. The Church was in conflict not merely with a king, but with a multitude of feudal rulers, all claiming jurisdiction in matters which were ordinarily cognizable in courts Christian. Sometimes the local noble to enforce his claim captured, imprisoned, and otherwise maltreated the official of the spiritual courts. It was little better than anarchy, but feudalism tolerated much of that.

The results of the early centralization of the government in England may also be seen in the very different fate in England of the *jus regalium* in respect to vacant sees and of the *jus spolii*. The former must often have been a great benefit to the Church. By it the ecclesiastical temporalities at once came under royal protection and were saved from the depredation of the lay nobility, ever ready to take advantage of a vacancy. Ralph Flambard's treatment of English sees under William Rufus was paralleled, though after the Investiture Contest, by the merciless plunder of the French churches by Louis VII (1121–1180) and the German churches by Lothar II and Frederick Barbarossa. In England, the right, introduced apparently from Normandy by the Conqueror, was in the hands of one man and in an hereditary monarchy a fixed policy developed. In France not all the sees were subject to the *jus regalium*. Some were under the King, some under great crown vassals, *e. g.* the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, the Count of Champagne. On the other hand whole provinces were free from the burden, *e. g.*, Bordeaux, Narbonne, Arles, Vienne, and others. The situa-

tion in Germany was still different. There was always a struggle attendant upon an imperial election, and electoral capitulations were almost as good as ready money for use in bribery. The privileges thus obtained by one great see after another gradually stripped the Emperor of a profitable right and a powerful control over the Church of the Empire and with the rise of particularism the minor bishoprics and abbeys were brought under the local prince. Otto IV and Frederick II both professed to abandon what was left of the right. Rudolph I (1273–1292) confirmed their renunciation. There seems to be no evidence that the right was subsequently exercised by the Emperor. In England the right has been maintained, though with some modifications, down to the present day. In the Middle Ages it kept the Church in the hands of the King more completely in England than in any other great country.

The *jus spolii*, by which the entire movable property of a deceased ecclesiastic was seized by the Crown or feudal superior also illustrates the effect of centralization upon the Church. This right was peculiar to no country. It grew partly out of the Church's own law, whereby the clergy might not leave property by will, and partly out of the law of the *Eigenkirche*. From every point of view but that of the feudal superior, it was a *consuetudo detestabilis*, as Otto IV acknowledged when he professed to renounce it at his coronation (1198). On the continent the bishops obtained testamentary rights and freedom from the *jus spolii*, only one by one and very slowly. Occasionally it was obtained as a personal favor, as when Ivo obtained it from his suzerain Henry of Blois for the see of Chartres; or when Albert of Magdeburg obtained it from Otto IV in 1209 for his see. Others frequently bought it, on the same principle that a ground rent might be redeemed. In France the great churches and abbeys became free from the outrage for the most part in the twelfth century. In Germany, Barbarossa renounced it and so did his successors. Yet they continued

to make full use of it. When finally the emperors and higher princes had abandoned the right, the lower nobility, the knights and patrons of parish churches contended for it. Even the populace felt at liberty to avail themselves of it and in the pillage death was sometimes anticipated and the very bed dragged from under the dying priest. Down to the Reformation the German clergy fulminated against the abuse but in vain. Possibly the last council in Germany to take action against it was that of Salzburg, 1490.[1] In England where the *jus spolii* had been introduced by the Normans, the clergy by standing together in support of Stephen obtained from him testamentary rights by charter. In this most important matter the Church in the person of the great ecclesiastics was brought as a whole under the protection of the Crown. Only in the case of an ecclesiastic dying intestate were his goods confiscated and then only by the Crown.

(3) The form which the provincial synod took in England must be reckoned among the more important causes of the development of the national spirit in the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. Obscure as are some points concerning the origin of Convocation, its final form is connected with the expedients of the Crown to obtain subsidies. Though as a body of ecclesiastics it persisted in regarding itself as a synod of the Church, it was, in intention at least, the spiritual estate of the realm. It was summoned at the same time as the other two estates of the realm in Parliament. Down to 1664 it alone could tax the clergy and, accordingly, the clergy who had no right to vote for members of Parliament had their proctors in Convocation. The bishops and higher ecclesiastics as well as representatives of the great ecclesiastical corporations attended. Taxes were granted, petitions for redress of grievances presented, canons passed. It was an institution unique in the Western Church. That there were

[1] *Cf.* Basel, 1400, c. 9; Speyer, 1401, 1407; Augsburg, 1452. In Ireland there was the same difficulty, *cf.* Synod of Cashel, 1453, *v.* Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii., 570.

two Convocations, one for each province, detracted from the unifying effect of the institution. The two in any case were in frequent consultation. Canons adopted in one were not infrequently adopted in the other and the digested body of Canons of the Southern Convocation was adopted by that of the North in 1462. In Germany provincial synods were held, though without any regularity, by seven different archbishops; but they did nothing to weld the Church together. They did nothing to unite the Church with the national life. In France, although there was a representation of the spiritual estate in the Estates General, the great ecclesiastics took their place there only in their seigneurial capacity, by the same right as the English bishops sat in the upper house of Parliament as holders of baronies as well as Convocation where they sat as of the spiritual estate. The purely seigneurial and not spiritual character of the ecclesiastical estate in the Estates General is shown by the fact that convents of women, who could have no representation in a Church synod, were represented by delegates because of their seigneuries. It was an abuse of the spirit of the English Convocation that it became under the hands of its members a synod, but by it the spiritual estate in England came very near becoming a national Church.

(4) In the great struggle of the papacy with the Emperor, even England was eventually involved. After John's surrender of the kingdom, when England had become a fief of the Roman See paying tribute to it as did any other of its many fiefs, the *Ecclesia Anglicana* was mercilessly taxed to support the papacy and its imperial policy. Incessant demands were made for the presentation of Italian clerks. Direct papal taxes were levied upon the clergy and even the aity. The enormous sums collected by Cardinal Otho and Master Martin went to support a contest in which Englishmen and the *Ecclesia Anglicana* had no interest. In 1240, the clergy were called to pay over one-fifth of their movables. A few years later the demand rose to one-third of the yearly

value of the benefices of the resident clergy and one-half of non-residents. To the scandal of patriotic Englishmen, clerical and lay, the vast sum drawn from England by foreign ecclesiastics amounted to three times the royal revenue. The papal claim that England was a vassal state and should support its suzerain, the claim upon which papal taxation and tribute was based, was a perpetual affront. Nearly the whole reign of Henry III is one long struggle of the national spirit both in Church and State against foreign domination. Against the foreign archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface of Savoy, as well as against Innocent IV, the national resentment was directed. St. Edmund Rich in despair resigned the primacy. Robert Grosseteste, after being papal tax collector, denounced in the language of a Hebrew prophet the papal exploiting of England. Nothing breeds the sense of solidarity like the endurance of a common wrong.

During this great struggle of Pope and Emperor, the condition on the continent was different. The German Church was divided between imperial and papal partisans. The Italians, the Curia, and the whole papal entourage profited by the spoliation of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. The *Ecclesia Gallicana* was, indeed, heavily taxed and protested vigorously. But St. Louis stood on the side of the Pope in the great struggle. The clergy and the court of Rome were freely denounced by the popular mind, as witnessed by the poetry of the Troubadours. The nobility might protest against the ecclesiastical encroachments upon their profitable civil jurisdiction, and here the hand of Frederick II is clearly seen as inciting them to attack the Church. But the Church as a whole was not forced into any anti-papal attitude. It stood by the King, the Pope's ally. The King might increase his hold upon the national Church, but it was not until Philip the Fair that the national spirit came into serious conflict with foreign domination and the sequel to this was utterly different from that in England which for a time was placed in the same position as was Philip. The

papacy suddenly became a French institution and the English were all the more set in antagonism to the papacy as foreign.

(5) Among the causes for the development of the national spirit in the *Ecclesia Anglicana* must be reckoned the circumstances connected with the anti-papal legislation of the fourteenth century, the actual immediate importance of which is easily over-estimated. The statutes were designed to meet lay grievances and were passed by the laity with little or no support from the clergy. The large movement of which they were a part was anti-ecclesiastical, directed as much against the spirituality of the realm as against the Roman See. But the papacy had its own political struggle with Louis of Bavaria and in the lack of income from the *Patrimonium Petri*, depended upon England for supplies, either by direct levies upon English ecclesiastics, or provisions to English benefices sold for spot cash, on the principle that in respect to Curia such sale was no simony. Here the rights of the holders of advowsons was touched. Ecclesiastical patrons expostulated but submitted; the laity defended themselves by the statutes of Provisors (1351, 1390). When the clerk who had paid his good money for a provision lost his case in the royal courts, where for two centuries all cases touching advowsons had been tried, he naturally appealed to the courts Christian, and to prevent this the laity passed the statutes of Præmunire (1353, 1393). Into the resulting dispute with the papacy was injected a nationalistic element in the indignant rejection of papal demands for the tribute promised by John, now fallen heavily into arrears. The schism in the papacy complicated the situation. The laity made a general attack upon ecclesiastical endowments. But in the end the ecclesiastical party triumphed. To the Wicklifite demand for a national Church asserting that the English should live under their own canons as did the Greeks, the ecclesiastical courts replied by forcing the Lollards to sign recantations in which

were incorporated their acceptance of all and singular "the laws, canons, statutes, and constitutions of our lord Pope incorporated in the Decreta, the Decretales, and the Extravagantes."[1] Such a recantation forced upon the Lollards certainly is evidence that the law of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* as a whole was regarded as binding in England. England shared with other countries in the confusion resulting from the schism, in the discussion of the relative authority of General Council and Pope, in the national spirit manifested at Constance. But the full effect of the dispute was felt only in France where the national spirit took a new turn in the Church and far outstripped for a time any English attainments.

IV

How far did the national Church spirit roused in these ways extend? Was there sufficient to constitute what might be regarded as a national Church in any modern sense of the word? That such a spirit was in existence cannot be denied. The conditions that gave birth to it were everywhere to be found. They were, as pointed out, especially prominent in England. The hierarchical principle of Church organization was not completely realized in the Middle Ages. There were always large limitations to its application, everywhere some anomalies and inconsistencies. But had it anywhere been overthrown? The only test that can be applied is the extent to which there existed any local system of law superior to the *jus commune* of the Church or the Decretal system. This test is not met by the discovery of isolated local customs at variance with the *jus commune.* That system of law allowed for such customs. They are characteristic of medieval jurisprudence everywhere. The test must be taken in its larger application. As the subject

[1] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 415 f. (Rolls Series). The passage quoted is reproduced in the fac-simile prefixed to volume.

is of special interest to us in connection with the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, it will be in place to pursue it further in connection with that part of the Western Church, bearing in mind that, *mutatis mutandis*, the same line of argument can be applied to the *Ecclesia Gallicana*, the *Ecclesia Scotiana*, or any other part of Latin Christendom.

Up to the beginning of the fifteenth century there was everything that might tend to develop a strong national Church spirit in England. Was there enough to constitute the *Ecclesia Anglicana* a national Church in the sense that although it acknowledged in general the moral and religious authority of the Roman See, the Church only received the Canon Law of Rome in part and as its own free act? Only three points can be touched upon and but briefly.

1. Lyndwood's *Provinciale* has been treated as making out a *prima facie* case for that legal independence. He drew up the local canons enacted by the province of Canterbury, arranging them in the order of the decretals of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. It might seem that he was drawing up a rival code, the nationality of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* was asserting itself, and the *papa alterius orbis* was following in the footsteps of his brother of Rome. Or at least, in the language of Lathbury, who well represents Anglican tradition "Lyndwood's digest shows how much and what parts [of the Canon Law] were received in the Church of England previous to the Reformation.[1] But here again the comparative study of the subject quite nullifies the force of the evidence. At the fifteenth session of the Council of Basel November, 1433, in the same year, as that in which Lyndwood finished his *Provinciale*, it was ordered that provincial and diocesan canons be collected and read at the provincial and diocesan synods. The reason for this probably was that in as much as such canons were originally published to call attention to certain general rules, or to apply them to cases peculiar to a diocese, or otherwise help in the enforcement

[1] *History of Convocation*, 1853, p. 83.

of the law of the Church, republication would be in order in a movement for reform. However that may be, archbishops and bishops before holding synods had the local canons systematically arranged, especially those still applicable, and caused them to be read in the synods they held. The natural order for the arrangement of these codes made up of various canons was that of the Decretals, which had been followed in supplements to the Decretals of Gregory IX. This was a general custom in Germany. To cite but few cases, the Bishop Gottfried of Würzburg in 1446 had such a collection made of the diocesan statutes with which he incorporated some provincial statutes of Mainz and the council of Basel, and these in the order of the Decretals he "confirmed, ratified, and approved."[1] It should be noted that a bishop is confirming, ratifying, and approving not merely the canons of his diocese but those of the province to which he is subject and a council which was then held to be general! The Bishop of Constance did the same at his diocesan synod in July, 1463, likewise adding to his diocesan canons appropriate provincial canons of Mainz and canons of Basel, and all arranged in the order of the Decretals.[2] To cite but one more instance, at the provincial synod of Salzburg in 1490, a general collection of the canons of that great province was published in the order of the Decretals. More must be shown of an attempt to substitute Lyndwood for the *Corpus Juris Canonici* before any more can be found in the case of his *Provinciale* in England than the similar collections in Salzburg and elsewhere.

2. The argument has often been advanced that in as much as the whole body of the Canon Law was not enforced in England it was therefore in force only as allowed or received. This is the gist of the legal reasoning based upon

[1] *Cf.* Binterim, *Pragmatische Geschichte der deutschen National-,Provizial-, und vorzüglichsten Diöcesanconcilien*, Mainz, 1848, vii., 228 ff.; Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniæ*, v., 315.

[2] Binterim, *op. cit.*, vii., 313.

"Caudrey's Case, or On the King's Ecclesiastical Law," and in the "Case on Commendams." But here again an application of the comparative method, quite overlooked in these discussions, shows that little can be drawn from this fact. The ecclesiastical courts, as pointed out, were everywhere rivals of the secular courts, everywhere in conflict with them over the competence of their respective jurisdictions, both as to persons and as to causes. Many cases claimed by the Canon Law were successfully vindicated by the Kings for their courts and prohibitions restrained the courts Christian. Was the recognition of the right of the Church courts to try cases according to the Church's law tantamount to such a reception of the Canon Law that it could be said that the Canon Law was not binding *proprio vigore?* A large part of the jurisdiction of these courts was concerned with matters regarding faith and the sacraments. Did the State admit and approve the Canon Law in these matters? Is there any sign whatsoever that it did anything of the kind? But where is the line to be drawn theoretically, as all the Church's claim was based upon its religious functions? But waiving this point, if any such argument is correct, viz., that recognition of the right of the Church to apply its own law in certain cases was acceptance, and so the law was not really binding *proprio vigore*, then it was not binding in France nor in any other country of Europe. In every country the jurisdiction of the courts Christian was limited and the force of the whole body of Canon Law limited likewise to the cases of which those courts had cognizance. In Germany the smaller states and especially the cities restricted the courts far more than did the Empire. In all this the points respecting which the restraint was exercised might not be the same. That matter is without significance. The force or weakness of the argument from the restraint remains unaffected by the difference. The point calls for some discussion.

It has generally been observed that the claim of the

Church to cognizance of wills and the distribution of the movables of intestates was admitted in England and not elsewhere. This is not strictly accurate even for Great Britain, for the Church's claim was admitted in Scotland. In France and Germany courts Christian certainly exercised for a time at least jurisdiction in testamentary matters. If anywhere or at any time the jurisdiction was lost, as was certainly the case in several places, it was a rejection of Book III, titles 25–27 of the Decretals, on the principle that the refusal of the State to allow certain jurisdiction to the court Christian was a rejection of the Church's Canon Law. Any adherent of the receptionist theory must be prepared to say that in this topic Canon Law was treated the same outside England and Scotland, as was Canon Law in England in other topics and to draw the same inferences as to the binding force of that law in all Europe.

Or take the well-known story of the Council of Merton, 1236, where the barons are said to have refused to change the laws of England so as to admit the principle of the decretal *Tanta est vis*, as to legitimacy. This decretal held that a child born before the marriage of his parents was legitimated by their subsequent marriage provided that at the time of conception they might have lawfully married. So far is this decretal's fate in England from proving that the Canon Law was not received in England that it proves exactly the contrary. The application of *Tanta est vis*,[1] which had been sent to the Bishop of Exeter in 1172, was on the remonstrance of Henry II expressly excluded by Alexander III, its author, from matters application to matters pertaining to succession to lands[2] which was all the nobles could or did claim at Merton. But note, that in other matters, where the question of legitimacy arose, as it did constantly in ecclesiastical courts, the only court professing to apply Canon Law, that decretal was applied. According

[1] C. 6, X. iv., 17.

[2] *Cf.* Friedberg, *Quinque compilationes antiquæ*, i., 1, 4, c. 4 and 7.

to Bracton,[1] Coke[2] and Godolphin,[3] legitimacy by subsequent marriage was recognized in the ecclesiastical court, *e. g.*, in the very important matters of ordination and irregularity. The real opposition to the Canon Law was not in the rejection of the decretal *Tanta est vis*, which was in force in England except where it had been expressly limited by its author, but in the claim of the King's courts to cognizance of cases of special bastardy in matters of succession to lands. A jury there determined the simple matter of fact whether a man was born before or after the marriage of his parents. Questions of legitimacy were claimed by the courts Christian as matters annexed to the sacrament of marriage. But almost the same claim of the secular courts was made successfully in France. According to Beaumanoir[4] the feudal court was always competent in a matter of legitimacy if the question of legitimacy was *prejudicielle* in any process touching succession to a fief.[5]

To cite but one more instance out of many, the case of contracts under oath may be taken. The Church claimed cognizance of such cases[6] as they involved the sin of perjury. The claim was rejected by the Constitutions of Clarendon, and though the clause was condemned by Alexander and abandoned formally by the King, yet it was actually maintained. Bracton's treatment of the matter shows that it was in force in his time. The Church, however, was very slow in recognizing the competence of the King's courts in this matter and Stubbs shows that actions for debt were long tried in courts Christian, in fact down to the end of the reign of Henry VII and this could only be on the principle that they were contracts under oath.[7] All restraint upon the

[1] *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*, f. 63. (Rolls Series, Vol. I, 502.)
[2] *Coke on Littleton*, p. 245. [3] *Repertorium Canonicum*, London, 1680, p. 487.
[4] *Les coutumes du Beauvoisis*, edition Beugnot, 1842, Vol. I, p. 277.
[5] *Cf.* Fournier, *Les officialités au moyen âge*, 1880, p. 84.
[6] C. 2 in VIto, I., 18; tit. X. ii., 24; c. 3 in VIto, ii., 2; c. 2 in VIto, ii., 11.
[7] *Constitutional History of England*, 3d edition, 1884, iii., 357, n. 2.

Church's full cognizance of such causes was a rejection of a portion of the Canon Law, if we would express it in that anachronistic fashion. But in France we find much the same result obtained as in England though a little later and with the accompaniment of much violence. Philip Augustus in 1220 forbade confirming by oaths contracts made at fairs and markets. In this way they would be kept from falling to the Church courts, the competence of which was then admitted.[1] Various feudal nobles with much violence attempted to prevent the ecclesiastical courts from citing laymen for breaches of contract. The dispute ended in what was for a time a compromise. When a contract was valid the oath was treated as an accessory and the case followed the principal matter as to forum, *i. e.*, was tried in King's courts. In other cases the King issued letters of recision annulling the contract, provided a *relaxatio* from the oath was obtained from bishop or other having power to grant such.[2] The matter ended by the *de jure* assumption of the *relaxatio.* A clear point of canon law was thus set aside. Now if the exclusion of contracts under oath from ecclesiastical cognizance is any proof of a receptionist theory in England it is equally so in France.

The third point to which reference can here be made is the appellate jurisdiction of the papacy. The development of an independent local code of ecclesiastical laws has been treated as the expression of a national ecclesiastical tendency, spirit, or principle. But here there must always have been an effective restraint upon the development of such a code. Law courts always subject to being overruled by the supreme pontiff could not depart in any essentials from the *jus commune* of the Western Church. And the decision of every ecclesiastical court in England as well as in every other

[1] *Cf.* Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 87, n.1.

[2] *Cf.* Esmein, *Histoire du droit français*, Paris, 1907, p. 651, n. 1; also his essay, "Le serment promissoire en droit canonique" in *Nouvelle revue historique de droit* xii., 1888, pp. 332–352.

country in Europe was subject to reversal at Rome. Provided a case fell within the cognizance of the spiritual court or court Christian, as custom had determined the bounds of its competence, appeals, with very few exceptions, went to Rome unhindered.

There was, however, in the Church a principal current which would cause constant infringement of the agreement as to the delimitation of the two jurisdictions and laws. The cognizance of any act which involved sin was claimed by the Church for its courts.[1] It was its duty to correct *pro salute animarum*. It was also an established theory that if justice was refused in a secular court, the person wronged might appeal to the court Christian, for it was the duty of the Church to supervise the administration of right and to correct abuses and wrongs generally. Hence arose the need of the statutes of *Præmunire* in England. But these statutes did not cut off one appeal to Rome except in those cases which by the customary division of competence fell to the King's courts. They were but a sharpening of the principle of prohibitions, laying down harsher penalties and defining more exactly the nature of the offense. In all this there is nothing peculiar to England from the point of view of national ecclesiastical independence. The *Appellatio tamquam ab abusu*, or *appel comme d'abus*, of French law is the exact analogue to suing out a writ of prohibition. It was originally a process to restrain the ecclesiastical court as exceeding its competence as established by custom but it was extended much further, seriously interfering in cases which belonged to ecclesiastical courts and this the statutes of *Praemunire* never did before the Reformation. In Germany and elsewhere there was the same restriction upon the tendency of ecclesiastical courts to meddle in matters not falling within their competence. In England restriction upon appeals in matters belonging to courts Christian never took place until 1533 and by the statute "Restraint of Appeals." It is only among

[1] *Cf.* c. 13, X. ii., 1.

the smaller German states, where the *Landrecht* was harshest against the Church's system, that appeals in general were prevented. In Saxony, William III by a statute of 1446 cut off completely all appeals to foreign courts ecclesiastical or secular. In Switzerland in 1370 the *Pfaffenbrief* cut off appeals. No clergyman might seek a foreign court spiritual or temporal.

In what has been said the discussion has turned largely upon the matter of law and jurisdiction. It is in these points that the nationality of a local division of the Western Church must be shown if ever it became more than a vague feeling, however powerful. There was much to develop that feeling in the conditions of every country in Europe and the attitude of the *Ecclesia Romana* to the rest of the Church. With the rapidly increasing national consciousness of the late Middle Ages, it might seem surprising that the ecclesiastical nationalism went no further. It was involved in the religious conceptions of the time, however, that the *Ecclesia Romana* should dominate the Church. The modern sharp distinction between matters purely of faith and matters purely of discipline did not present itself to the medieval mind very clearly or forcibly. The constitution of the Church no less than its creed and sacraments was of divine institution. The national spirit in the Church must be allowed for in the study of the Middle Ages. It must be admitted in every country of Western Europe. Without it national Church solidarity, a constantly reappearing social force, and a multitude of movements and measures in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, not to mention the sixteenth would remain inexplicable. But the admission of a national Church independent in law and jurisdiction of the Roman See, the only independence worth considering, would make the actual history of the attitude of the so-called "national Church" equally inexplicable.

The Stigmata of St. Francis, Considered in the Light of Possible Joachimite Influence upon Thomas of Celano

By

Charles H. Lyttle

THE STIGMATA OF ST. FRANCIS, CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF POSSIBLE JOACHIMITE INFLUENCE UPON THOMAS OF CELANO

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(*Abstract of a Paper, read December 31, 1912*)

THE existence of wounds resembling those of the crucified Christ upon the body of St. Francis of Assisi[1] is now generally admitted to be probable.[2] It has been demonstrated that such phenomena can and do occur through psychopathic causes.[3] Only by rejecting cogent evidence can the stigmata be eliminated as thorough fraud.[4] Whether the wounds were self-inflicted[5] or inflicted by others *post mortem*[6] is still an open question.[7]

There are, however, other phases of the phenomenon which deserve study. The present inquiry proceeds according to the following suggestions:

I. What was the primitive tradition received from Leo concerning the stigmata?

[1] Joseph Merkt, *Die Wundmale des heil. Franciscus von Assisi*, Leipzig, 1910.

[2] Karl Hampe, *Die Wundmale des heil. Franz von Assisi*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1906.

[3] For the pathological aspects of the phenomenon, Merkt gives satisfactory reference to Cotelle, Dumas, Imbert-Gourbeyre.

[4] This is the position taken by Joh. Jörgensen, in his *Life of St. Francis*, 1911, and Cuthbert, *Life*, 1911.

[5] This is Hampe's suggestion.

[6] Conjectured by Karl Hase, *Franz von Assisi*, *1876*, and again in the *Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik*, Leipzig, 1878.

[7] The most spirited and able reply to Merkt is that by M. Bihl, in the *Archivum Franciscanum*, tom. iii. (1911), pp. 393 *seq.*

II. Did Celano, in using this tradition, adapt it to fit a unique conception of his own respecting Francis?

III. Was this adaptation carried out in the spirit of the prophecies of the Abbot Joachim of Flora?[1]

I. Since neither the *Fioretti* nor the *Speculum Perfectionis* nor the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* antedate the *Vita Prima* of Celano, as demonstrated by Roman Catholic scholars, this alleged witness of the companions who were with Francis on La Verna (Angelo, Matteo, Silvestro, and Illuminato, besides Leo)[2] cannot be counted as absolutely primitive.[3] We have, however, certain bits of testimony to the stigmata which derive from Leo. These consist (*a*) of the *Cartula Leonis*, a probably authentic manuscript of Lauds written by Francis with an authentic autograph attestation by Leo, to the effect that these Lauds were composed at the time of the stigmatization by the seraph on La Verna.[4] The *Cartula* would seem to settle the problem of the "Leo" tradition once for all,[5] were it not for the fact that we cannot be sure when the autograph of Leo was indited; and the phrases he used suspiciously resemble those in the legends of Celano and Bonaventura.[6] (*b*) Thomas of

[1] That Celano was not original in many of the details of his *Vita Prima* has been amply proved by Nino Tamassia (*San Francesco e la legenda sua*, Padua, 1906). The classic eastern hermits, and St. Benedict himself, were taken as models, through the medium of their well-known legends.

[2] In the 91st chapter of the *Vita Prima* (edition Alençon, 1906, § 149).

[3] The critical discussion of the question may be traced by means of the early *Life of St. Francis*, by Sabatier; the edition of the *Floretum*, by Sabatier (1902); the work by Walter Goetz, *Quellen zur Geschichte des heiligen Franz von Assisi* (1904); Professor Weber's excellent summary of work on the stigmata problem in the preceding volume of these *Papers;* and the summary of criticism offered by Joh. Jörgensen in the *Life*, pp. 352 *seq.* The writer has been unable to consult the recent comment of Goffin, given in the appendix of his edition of the *Fioretti*, Paris, 1912.

[4] For a good picture of the *Cartula* and a translation of the Lauds see G. Schnürer, *Franz von Assisi*, München, 1905, p. 113.

[5] Its authenticity is defended by M. Bihl, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 1907, pp. 529 *seq.*

[6] So Merkt; at any rate, if Leo left the *Cartula* as a legacy to the convent, the notation would probably have been made in or about 1270.

Eccleston[1] credits Leo with the tradition that the seraph appeared to Francis on La Verna; that the evidence for this is even greater than what has been recorded; that the seraph treated Francis harshly, and promised that the Order would endure to the end of the world. This tradition reports no stigmatization on the occasion of the apparition, and differs from that of Celano by the mention of severe treatment, which could never have been inferred from Celano.[2] In this point it so closely agrees with the narrative of the *Speculum* that I regard it as primitive.[3] (*c*) Fra Salimbene tells us that Leo told him that when he washed the body of Francis after death it looked exactly like that of a crucified man taken down from a cross.[4] This is cognate with the more rhetorical implication of Elias in the letter to the Ministers.[5] Elias added merely a very graphic description of the wounds.[6]

I believe the primitive Leo tradition to have included a seraphic apparition, an ecstatic state on Francis's part (which in some way was related to the letter Tau written upon the *Cartula*) and a cryptic promise of the greatness of the Order. So much for the La Verna story, which must be kept strictly separate from any episode of stigmatization. Leo's statements on the latter are limited to the condition of Francis's body after death. Simply, it looked like that of a crucified man taken from the cross.

II. Celano in his *Vita Prima* took this twofold "Leo"

[1] Ed. Cuthbert, Edinburgh, 1909, § 12.

[2] The treatment is indicated by the adverb *dure*.

[3] Sabatier, *Speculum Perfectionis*, 1898, chap. x., p. 194 (indicating demonic possession).

[4] Written about 1280, published in *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, Scriptores*, t. xxxii.

[5] "*Dum adhuc vivebat spiritus in corpore non erat in eo aspectus sed despectus vultus eius et nullum membrum in eo remansit nimia passione*," *AA. SS.*, Octob. t. ii., pp. 666–8.

[6] Paragraph 113 of the *Vita Prima* (Alençon). Elias had said merely '*reservates cicatrices et clavorum nigredum ostendentes*."

tradition and produced the stigmatization as we to-day have it. He did not falsify it, but expanded it by a new and daring conception, in the light of which he wrote the entire biography. His additions and changes were: To the La Verna episode, a description of the seraph, of the saint as engaged in deep meditation upon the vision; a description of the wounds as being nail-like excrescences; but primarily he added the connection of seraphic apparition and the stigmatization.

Commenting upon these additions, it is first to be noted that to Leo's vision of an angel is combined, in an impossible way, the form of a crucified man.[1] Meditation upon a seraphic figure alone would scarcely serve as cause of inward (therefore outward) stigmatization, and so we have the unimaginable addition. Furthermore the attitude of contemplation on Francis's part is of the greatest significance. It produced in him a sense of identification with the Crucified by which he inwardly *and* outwardly began to assume the appearance of the Christ. This fact explains the discrepancy between Leo's statement that the body looked as if taken down from the cross—in which case, no nails would be in the wounds—and Celano's description of nail-like excrescences which would be plausible only in case of meditation upon a figure fastened to a cross, and an ensuing mystic identification therewith. Finally, the conjunction of seraph vision and the appearance of the stigmata is exposed, explained, and defended by Celano himself[2]; it is his conjecture (based upon information from Leo?) as to how and where the stigmata in Francis's body had their origin. Had this information included a hint that Francis was spirit-

[1] Celano's description of a seraph with six wings, etc.: "*Vidit in visione dei unum virum quasi seraphim, sex alas habentem, manibus extensis et pedibus coniunctis cruci affixum*," chap. 91, *Vita Prima.*

[2] "O wonderful dispensation of God, which, in order that there should arise no suspicion of the newness of the miracle first showed in him who was in the skies that which a little while after was done to him who lingered on earth" (§ 113).

ually and physically "sealed" with a golden Tau, by the seraph?[1]

III. My argument that Celano may have been influenced by the conceptions of Joachim of Flora cannot here be given in detail, since it involves an analysis of the *Vita Prima* and a comparison of its phraseology with that of the prophecies of the great abbot.[2] Taking the stigmata as a test case, I find bases for my belief in (*a*) the conception that Francis by contemplation became virtually Christ-Francis; and (*b*) the mysterious, sometimes fantastic, language which Celano uses in describing the phenomenon. Whether or not Celano was secretly a Joachimite, he manifestly deemed Francis to have been the herald of a new age for the Church in something more than the stereotyped meaning. The same abstruse suggestion may be found in the Letter of Elias, the Canonization Bull of Gregory IX.[3]

[1] See Alençon's edition of the *Tractatus de Miraculis*, p. 341, where Celano cites the presence of a golden Tau on Francis's forehead as reasonably dependable evidence that the stigmatization occurred just as he had narrated it! But this was the sign made by Francis on the Cartula of the Lauds which, according to Leo, were composed on La Verna; and the sign itself was by the Joachimists of a later decade interpreted as that mentioned in Revelations vii., 2.

[2] A complete account of Joachim, his prophecies, his writings, his influence is non-existent, and the research embodied in the original paper cannot here be given in full. The best treatise is probably that of Fournier, in the second work he has issued on the subject (*Joachim di Fiore*, Grenoble, 1912). Edmund Gardner contributed an essay on Joachim to the volume of *Franciscan Essays* dedicated to Sabatier (1912). He there denies any direct influence of Joachim upon the early Franciscans, although (p. 63) the predictions created a hospitable atmosphere for the two Orders. Cuthbert, in his recent *Life of St. Francis*, asserts that the Franciscan movement was cradled in the expectancy aroused by the predictions. For a knowledge of the Basilean monastic development in Calabria before Joachim, some phases of which resemble closely those of early Franciscanism, one should consult Gay, *L'Italie Meridionale* (867–1071); Minasi, *Le Chiese di Calabria* (Napoli, 1896); Kirsopp Lake, *The Greek Monasteries of Southern Italy* (J. Th. St. iv., 345, 517); Battifol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano;* and the *Vita S. Nili*, *AA. SS.* September, tom. vii.

[3] The bull may be found in *AA. SS.*, tom. cit., p. 676: "*Ecce in hora undecima Dominus excitavit servum beatum*," etc.

and the hymns for the Office of St. Francis, attributed to Celano and to Gregory.[1]

The hypothesis that Celano was decisively influenced by current Joachimism cannot be pegged down hard and fast by any outright proof. It is based upon the mystic interpretation he gave to Francis's life in the *Vita Prima*, so thoroughly germane with Joachimite predictions of a third age of spiritual Christ-replicas; upon the otherwise unaccountable apocalyptic coloring of his hymns; and by his ingenuous explanation of the stigmatization in his later *Treatise on Miracles*. But we must leave room for the possibility that this Joachimism was potentially or overtly present in the information Leo gave Celano concerning the two facts—that namely of the post-mortem appearance of the body, and that of the La Verna ecstasy. This possibility is strengthened by the development of Joachimism among the later Spirituals, friends of Leo, with its culmination in the *Introduction to the Eternal Gospel* of Gerard di Borgo San Domino.[2] But whether it be Celano or Leo who was the sponsor of this Joachimism I have no doubt that it inspired Celano's juxtaposition of the stigmata with the La Verna ecstasy through the medium of the seraph-Christ.[3] And we should

[1] The liturgical material was collected by Le Monnier, *Vie de St. François* (Paris, 1885), pp. 514 *seq.* The attribution of the hymn to Gregory is challenged by Merkt (pp. 10–12). The significant phrases in that composed by Celano for the Office are: "*Regulatio novis gregis, jura dantur novæ legis, renovantur iussa regis*"; "*novus ordo, nova vita, mundo surgit inaudita, culmen apostolicum.*"—The notable phrase in that ascribed to Gregory is: "*Caput draconis ultimum.*" Bihl (*op. cit.*) upholds the papal authorship against Merkt.

[2] The reminiscence of Jacob's encounter with the angel is reinforced by Leo's command to Angelo to wash the stone upon which the seraph had stood, and to anoint it. Elias describes Francis blessing the brothers *tamquam alter Jacob.* The Joachimists used this figurative language freely. (Fournier p. 19.)

[3] Celano states in so many words that his meaning was an identification of Francis with the seraph through contemplation and an apostolic life; "who retained the image and form of the seraph and remained upon the cross, so that he deserved to soar up to the highest spiritual eminence" (Celano, *Vita Prima*, edition Alençon, § 113). Bonaventura, in his preface to the canonical life of the saint (*AA. SS.*, Octob., tom. ii., pp. 800 *seq.*), makes no

remember that it is this juxaposition that removes into the realm of the miraculous the two otherwise quite credible stories of the post-mortem stigmata and the La Verna ecstasy. It is the *stigmatization by the seraph-Christ* which still puzzles modern critics.

secret of this: "In like manner he is thought to be not unmeetly set forth in the prophecy of John, under the similitude of an angel descending from the sunrise, bearing the seal of the living God. Moreover it is unanswerably confirmed by an unanswerable witness, by the seal of the likeness of the living God which was imprinted on him by the marvellous might of the Spirit."

Thus a prodigious portent had become a happy simile after the collapse of the Spiritual Joachimists after 1260. So that Ubertino di Casale, in the *Arbor Vitæ* (1285) identifies Francis with the seraph of Rev. vii., 2, in the bold words: "Jesus Franciscum generans" (Gardner, *op. cit*).

John Huss's Treatise on the Church

By

David Schley Schaff

JOHN HUSS'S TREATISE ON THE CHURCH

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THE approach of the 500th anniversary of John Huss's death and the interest taken at the present time in questions of ecclesiology have suggested the subject of this paper. The "Treatise on the Church," *De ecclesia*, was Huss's chief writing[1] and from it were drawn the charges for which he died at the stake, July 6, 1415.

The treatise as it appears in the Nürnberg-Frankfurt edition fills seventy-five folio pages which, if put into English, would demand four hundred pages of the *Papers* of this Society. It was prepared by Huss in the year 1413 as a defense of himself against the charges of heresy and ecclesiastical insubordination. He was at the time in semi-voluntary exile,—with the Council of Constance soon to convene. The contentions in the University of Prag over Wyclif's writings and Huss's preaching in the Bethlehem Chapel had brought upon him citation to Rome and excommunication, and the imposition of the interdict upon the city of Prag. The *De ecclesia* called forth attacks from his two former friends Stephen Paletz and Stanislaus of Znaim. To these he wrote replies, reaffirming the positions taken in the *De ecclesia* which, in English translation, would fill more than two hundred pages of this Society's publications.

[1] Loserth, *Wiclif and Hus*, p. 182, says: "Of all Hus' writings this has always been deemed the most important. Friends and foes alike have always regarded it with respect." I adopt the spelling *Huss* as more congenial to the English reader's eye. Loserth in the article "Huss" in the last edition of Herzog changes to this form, and Karl Müller also adopts it in his *Kirchengeschichte*.

In this paper I propose to give an epitome of the contents of this treatise, summarize its leading tenets, and inquire how far, during the Middle Ages and especially during the fourteenth century, the way had been prepared for Huss's views.

I. The Contents.

Chap. I.—The Holy Catholic—that is, the Universal—Church is the totality of all the predestinate—*omnium predestinatorum universitas*—of the present, the past, and the future, or the number of the predestinate—*numerus predestinatorum*. The Greek word church means congregation, as when Christ said, Matthew xxv., 32, that all peoples should be congregated before him at the last day—*congregabuntur*. The sheep and the goats will then be assembled, each in a congregation by themselves. In the same manner, the church of the righteous is one thing and the church of the reprobate another. The church of the righteous is either the Holy Catholic Church or a particular church—*ecclesia particularis*.[1]

Where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name and with Christ as the head, there is the church. Such was the church at Corinth to which Paul wrote. All the righteous living under the rule of Christ in the diocese of Prag, and more especially the predestinate, are the holy church of Prag.

The church is one—*unica*—as is the dove of the Canticles (vi., 9) and the strong woman of Proverbs (xxxi., 10). She has praised God from the beginning and will continue to praise Him to the end. She is the "Holy Church throughout all the world" which "doth acknowledge" Him, of the *Te Deum* of Augustine-Ambrose. She is to be discerned by faith and by faith to be honored as mother. The faithful should honor her not as God but as the house or dwelling-place

[1] This distinction was made in the Protestant confessions as in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, "Every particular or national church hath authority," etc., Article XXXIV.

of God, 1 Cor. xi., 22 *sqq.* She is the bride of Christ, incorrupt and chaste. She is his mystical body. Basing himself upon quotations from Scripture such as these and upon statements of Cyprian, Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard, Huss closes the first chapter with his most elaborate definition of the Holy Catholic Church as "the number of all the predestinate and the mystical body of Christ whose head he is and the bride whom, of his great love, he redeemed with his own blood."

Chap. II.—The church is divided into three parts: militant, dormant in purgatory, and triumphant. The first two classes are on their way to the heavenly fatherland, the last has reached it and is resting in bliss. These three are one in the unity of predestination unto ultimate bliss and in the present time, in the unity of faith, Christian graces and love.

Chap. III.—All Christians are not of the Holy Catholic Church. It is one thing to be *in* the church and another thing to be *of* the church—*aliud est de ecclesia aliud in ecclesia.* There are elements in the body which are not of the body: phlegm, spittle, *stercus, apostema vel urina.* The antichrists whom John spoke of (1 John ii., 19) as having left the church were never of it. The reprobate—the *presciti*—are in the church but not of it; and no human election nor any locality can constitute them of the church. Like Judas, many may be appointed to present righteousness and even to be bishops—the name bishop being a word for an office—and yet not be partakers of eternal life.

Those who are predestinate cannot fall away. And there are some who do not come to present grace, who nevertheless are predestinate and of the church, for Christ said, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold, and these I must bring."

Chap. IV.—The Universal Church has but one head and always has had but one head, Christ, and from him it cannot fall away. Augustine, Gregory, and Thomas Aquinas speak of the church as a threshing-floor, on which chaff and

wheat are mixed, as a net which contains fishes of different sorts, and as a field sowed with wheat and tares. In doing this, they speak in an ambiguous fashion and have in mind the popular mode of talking,—*vocationem vulgarem et reputationem ecclesiæ militantis*. Many are called sons of God who are not of the Holy Catholic Church, for they are not predestinate, even as they were not true disciples who ceased to walk with Christ.

Chap. V.—As for knowing the predestinate, they cannot be known without revelation. Nominally and to all appearance, Judas was of the church, but he was not so by predestination unto glory. Huss repeats that we know our mother, the church, by faith even as we know Christ by faith. Faith is defined as the principle which is opposed to sight, Heb. xi.

Chaps. VI, VII. The question is now discussed whether the pope and the cardinals are the church and also the question whether these dignitaries are invariably of the church. Huss replies:

> The pope and the cardinals are a part of the church but not the church.[1] The pope cannot be the head, for Christ is the head; and the cardinals cannot be the body, for the predestinate are the body. Boniface VIII's encyclical, *Unam sanctam*, is right in pronouncing the Holy Catholic Church to be one, but wrong in drawing the conclusion that Christ, in committing the sheep to Peter and his cure, committed all the sheep to him and that this fold is the Roman Church. The Holy Catholic Church is what Boniface had in mind when he affirmed that it is "altogether necessary to salvation to be subject to the Roman pontiff."

To show that this tremendous conclusion is false, Huss proceeds to an elaborate exposition of Matthew xvi., 18, and John xxi., 15 *sqq.*, passages which, it will be remembered, are emblazoned on the base of the dome of St. Peter's.

[1] A popular view in the later Middle Ages. So Wyclif: ***Communitas intelligit per Romanam ecclesiam papam et cardinales, quibus est necessarium omnibus aliis obedire*** (***De ecclesia***, p. 92).

The church referred to in Matthew xvi., 18, is the company of the saints—*convocatio predestinatorum*,—as is evident from Christ's statement that the "gates of hell shall not prevail against it." It is not the mixed company prefigured in the threshing-floor.

The rock on which the church is built is Christ. He is the foundation. Petra—the Rock—said to Petro, " I say unto thee that thou art Peter, that is the confessor of the true Rock, which is Christ, and on this Petra whom thou hast confessed—that is upon me—I will through strong faith and perfecting grace build my church—*super hanc Petram quam confessus es, id est super me, ædificabo, etc.* The foundation *with* which the church is built on the rock is faith,—faith rooted in love. This faith believes the Scriptures, which do not err or lead to error. Popes do both, *falli et fallere possunt.* Particular churches are parts of the Holy Catholic Church. The Roman Church is the company of the faithful under the obedience of the Roman pontiff as the Antiochian is the company of the faithful under the bishop of Antioch.

Chaps. IX, XI.—That Christ is the Rock is plain from Scripture. Paul and Peter call him the foundation, the rock, the corner-stone. Likewise Christ presented himself as the foundation which in time of storm will not be moved, Luke vi., 48. Our love and faith are in Christ, not in Peter. To Christ and not to Peter did the prophets look forward. As for Peter's own claims, the Apostle did not dare to assert that he was the head of the Holy Catholic Church. He did not rule over all. He was not the bridegroom. Christ alone is the head of the body, imparting life and sensation to its members.

The power of the keys was not conferred upon Peter alone but directly upon all of the Apostles by Christ himself. He bade them all administer the communion, Luke xxii., 19, and he commanded them all to go into all the world, teaching and baptizing, Matthew xxviii., 19. In fact, in giving the keys to Peter, Christ gave them in Peter's person to the

whole militant church—in *persona Petri toti ecclesiæ militanti.* This authority belongs to the church and is to be exercised by the church.

The priest can absolve only that which God has before absolved. He may make a mistake or have unclean hands, absolving for money. In such cases, the absolution is a form of words and nothing more. The authority to absolve as well as the Scriptures may be abused.

Chaps. XII–XV.—The Roman pontiff is indeed the head of a holy particular church,—*cujuscunque particularis ecclesiæ sanctæ*—but only as far as he is among the predestinate. If this be not a right statement, what will the doctors say about Agnes (*alias* Joan) who was pope for two years and five months, about Liberius the Arian, Boniface, Clement V, and other heretical or wicked popes? Were they among the predestinate? And it is not necessary to determine which of the two lines, Roman or Avignonese, was the genuine line? The pope may be a successor of Judas and the cardinals in the line of Gehazi.

As the tree is known by its fruits, so popes and cardinals must show by good lives and deeds that they are successors of the Apostles. For three hundred years and more, the church was without cardinals and it could well get along without them now. Augustine was worth more than many popes and cardinals, and, if he and Jerome, Ambrose and Gregory agree on any point of doctrine, no pope would dare to gainsay them.

Constantine made the pope and, until Constantine's donation, the pope was an associate with other pontiffs—*consocius aliis pontificibus.* Christ is able to restore the church to its primitive state without pope and cardinals. If the pope is a faithful minister, predestinated to the glory of Christ, then he is Christ's vicar and successor of Peter. Otherwise he is the vicar of Judas, who sold Christ.

Chap. XVI.—Huss now proceeds to emphasize the Scriptures—or the law of Christ as he likes to call them—as

the norm of all righteous ecclesiastical acts and judgments. The pope is not the judge of all cases. He has no authority to impose corporal death. On the contrary, with regard to certain offenses, Christ bade us tell them to the church. He refused to pronounce civil sentence. Nor did he wish to condemn to bodily death—*nec voluit civiliter judicare nec morte corporis condemnare voluit.* He did not call down fire from heaven. He came to heal not to destroy. The furthest limit to which he went was to bid the church treat obstinate offenders as heathen and publicans. The sanguinary corollary of the doctors is that, if spiritual sentences be disobeyed, the offender should be turned over to the magistrate for punishment. The *sedes apostolica* is not a final tribunal. How can it be in view of such a case as John XI who was put to death in the very commission of adultery? God's is the final tribunal and He is to be obeyed rather than man.

Chaps. XVII, XVIII.—Commands which are aside from the express teachings of Scripture are to be disobeyed—*praeter expressam autoritatem Scripturæ.* Yea, mandates of popes and cardinals, which subvert the commands of Christ, must be openly resisted, lest by consent one become partaker of crime. In matters civil, one owes obedience to the prince, in matters spiritual to God, but in matters ecclesiastical, which involve things indifferent, one owes no obedience which is contrary to the almighty will of God.

Having laid down these principles and fortified them from Scripture and by quotations from the Fathers, Huss proceeds, in the last five chapters of the treatise, to deal with his own case of disobedience to the ecclesiastical authorities of Prag and Rome.

Chaps. XIX–XXIII.—"I myself," he says, "appealed from the pope to his successor and, as that did not avail, to the head of the church, Jesus Christ, who cannot err. I also resisted the bull on Indulgences sent out by John XXIII, for to rebel against an erring pope is to obey Christ, the Lord."

If launched at all, excommunication should be launched

for mortal sins, not for matters indifferent, matters neither bad nor good in themselves. The pope would have no right to impose a prohibition of marriage upon a nobleman or rustic nor to command either to sell all his goods. Christ recommended the young man to sell his goods. He did not command him to do so. The burdens Christ laid upon men were light, and he excused his disciples from fasting. Modern prelates impose many fasts and other burdens, themselves not observing the least of them.

Preaching is a function to which the priest is called in ordination. A papal mandate, forbidding a priest to preach, is no more to be regarded than would be a command to cease giving alms.

As for the citation to Rome, he had disobeyed it, because his own diocese was the proper place for his case to be investigated, if at all. By his long absence in Rome the Word of God would have been kept from the people in Prag, and the way of citation is not the way prescribed by Christ as is shown by Matthew xviii., 15. For reasons such as these, he had committed himself to Christ and to his care, whether it was appointed for him to die a natural death or a death by violence.

As for the interdict, it, like excommunication, is used to terrorize and enslave the people. The pope has no right to order divine rites stopped in any locality simply because one man may be disobedient or bad. Christ went on distributing the Last Supper, even though Judas was present. "I was excommunicated," Huss said, "because I preached Christ and was seeking to turn the clergy to a life according to God's law. Then came the citation and the interdict."

Boniface VIII and Clement V make every rational creature, man or angel, subject to the Roman pontiff. By these edicts, if I were to get to heaven, that locality itself would be under the interdict but, thanks be to God, heaven is not subject to the pope's jurisdiction. People went to heaven when there were no popes. They went to heaven during the

more than two years' rule of Agnes and they have continued to go there in the interims following a pope's death and before the election of his successor. But in all times, Christ and he alone is the head of the church. The church is never *mortua* or *decapitata*. It is never dead or without a head. Christ lives perpetually. As for all the articles charged against him, no doctor, Huss declares, had proved a single one of them to be unscriptural or scandalous.

Such is an epitome of the contents of Huss's book.

II. The leading teachings set forth in the *De ecclesia* may be summarized as follows. I will state them in the light of Huss's replies to Paletz and Stanislaus and his trial in June, 1415, before d'Ailli and the commission of the Council of Constance.

1. The Holy Catholic Church is made up of the elect. It is a concession to popular mode of speech and thought when we apply the term "church" without discrimination to all calling themselves Christians. Judas Iscariot was *in* the church but not *of* the church. Huss, on trial before d'Ailli, insisted that the church was called only by concession the Lord's threshing-floor, a mixed body of the elect and reprobate.[1] In his sermons, Huss was accustomed to call the church the body of the elect.[2]

He nowhere applies to the church the terms "visible" and "invisible" though, in fact, he asserts what these terms are intended to convey.[3]

The church is there where two or three are gathered together with Christ as the head. This statement he elaborates in his reply to Paletz. If the faithful in India, Greece, or Spain, or any other province of the world are gathered together in Christ's name, they are an integral part of the church militant. And these parts, being united

[1] Palacky, *Documenta Mag. J. Hus*, p. 288.

[2] *Sermones de sanctis*, p. 242, *totus numerus predestinatorum*.

[3] Schwane, *Dogmengeschichte der mittleren Zeit*, p. 510, says: "Huss rejected the definition that the church is a visible community of believers in Christ."

in faith, hope, and charity, are one in Christ, even though there should be three or four popes contending for the papacy.[1]

2. The Holy Catholic Church has only one head, Christ. It is of pride to claim the title "universal pontiff" and of more pride to claim the fullness of universal power. The pope's authority is partial and particular, *partialis et particularis.*[2]

In the exposition of Matthew xvi., 18, Huss is strictly evangelical in method, interpreting Scripture by Scripture. Christ is the Rock. Peter is content to call himself a fellow elder, 1 Peter v., 1. In this interpretation he remained steadfast at his hearing before d'Ailli.[3]

3. The authority of the keys was shared equally by the thirteen Apostles. Paul received his apostleship not from man. Thomas went to India not by Peter's appointment. James presided at the Jerusalem conclave. John was sent to Samaria equally with Peter.[4] Christ called upon Peter to pasture the sheep but only a portion of the sheep, those in Antioch and Rome. All the sheep and all the nations he committed to all of the Apostles. All bishops and priests who observe the law of the Gospel are their successors, "to pasture with the word of the Gospel." The thirteen Apostles were thirteen prelates—*principes*—invested with equal authority over all the earth. They taught and pastured, and ordained bishops and presbyters without recourse to Peter.[5]

Not only so. Peter, in receiving the keys, received them for the church. The power of binding and loosing inheres in the church, for Christ said: "Go tell it to the church." Agnes was the example to whom Huss returned again and again. "Where were the keys under Agnes?" he exclaims. In his reply to Stanislaus he emphasized the assertion that the power of the keys is with the whole militant church of Christ.[6]

[1] Huss, *Opera* i., 325 *sq.*
[2] Reply to Stanislaus, Huss, *Opera* i., 345, etc.
[3] Palacky, p. 289.
[4] Huss, *Opera* i., 326, 342, 344.
[5] Huss, *Opera* i., 353, 356, etc.
[6] Huss, *Opera* i., 352.

4. The pope himself may be a reprobate and in this case is not a member of the Holy Catholic Church. He is neither infallible nor impeccable. Some of the popes, though elected legitimately by the human rite, were not of Christ's election.[1] Lists of bad or heretical popes are given who could not have held the keys. As well might Judas himself have claimed this power and the title *sanctissimus* as they. The Donation of Constantine created the papacy and spends its poison to this day. This statement Huss, on his trial, explained to mean that the pope received from Constantine external pomp and temporal good.[2] His spiritual function came from Christ. All these positions Huss reaffirmed again and again and they were charged against him on his trial. Pope and priests are to be approved by their lives.[3]

5. The fifth main point in Huss's contention was that the Scriptures are the supreme rule of conduct and the norm which the priest is obligated to follow above every mandate of pope or prelate. The priest who preaches the true Gospel must disobey a prelatical mandate to desist from preaching, lest he incur damnation.[4] The *De ecclesia* is full of quotations from the Scriptures, as are his replies to Paletz and Stanislaus. On his trial he constantly protested that this and that sentence, charged against him, was taken from the Scriptures. In his reply to Paletz, he declared, that he hoped at the bar of Christ to be found not to have denied a single iota of them.[5] To the charge that he followed Wyclif, Huss replied that he accepted Wyclif's statements not because they were made by Wyclif, but because they were drawn from the Scriptures.[6]

6. To these fundamental positions one more contention should be added, which, though not of equal importance,

[1] Reply to Paletz Huss, *Opera* i., 324.

[2] Palacky, p. 291. [3] *Opera* i., 282, 322 *sq.* [4] Palacky, p. 297.

[5] *Opera* i., 325. In the Cathedral of Constance, Huss insisted upon proof from Scripture and declared there was no appeal so safe as the appeal to Jesus Christ. Palacky, pp. 293, 319.

[6] Reply to Paletz, *Opera* i., 330.

bears upon the theory and practice of the mediæval church. The *De ecclesia* positively denies the right of the church to demand the death penalty as a punishment for heresy. It is true that, in the presence of d'Ailli and the conciliar commission, he modified this statement, declaring that the suspected heretic should be labored with and instructed, and only then, if necessary, punished corporally. The statement of the *De ecclesia*, even as thus modified, started a great tumult among the judges. And, when Huss went on to say that the priest and scribes who delivered Christ to Pilate had the greater sin, the tumult was repeated.[1]

In general, it may be said that Huss's treatise, if pressed, would necessarily lead to the assertion of the principle of the full rights of the individual conscience, just as does the expression of the Westminster divines, "God is alone Lord of the conscience," though these divines were unconscious of its full application. Huss appealed from all human tribunals and interpretations directly to the law of Christ and to Christ himself. Here belongs the statement he made in his Reply to Stanislaus, that not the pope but the Holy Spirit is the teacher of the church and its safest refuge, *refugium securissimum ecclesiæ sanctæ.*[2]

III. How far had the way been prepared for Huss and his assertions? The fourteenth century was a fertile seed plot for the free discussion of the subject of the church. This discussion was precipitated by Boniface's bull *Unam sanctam*, and more especially its most ominous clause that it is "wholly necessary to salvation that every human creature be subject to the Roman pontiff," *subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ . . . omnino est de necessitate salutis.*

The Schoolmen, up to that date, 1302, gave scant or no attention at all to the definition of the church. Leaning upon

[1] Palacky, p. 294. Gerson also made the charge against Huss that he denied the church's right to demand the infliction of the death penalty upon heretics: Palacky, 185 *sq.*

[2] Huss, *Opera* p. 354 *sq.*

Augustine they took the constitution of the church for granted, though Augustine's conception was nowhere clearly comprised in a single statement.[1] The Schoolman who came nearest to entering upon a discussion was Hugo of St. Victor. He calls the Holy Catholic Church the body of Christ, vivified by one spirit, united by one faith, and sanctified. What is the church therefore but the totality of the faithful —the totality of Christians.[2] As the earthly authority, he goes on, is exercised by a king, so spiritual authority is exercised by the supreme pontiff. Peter the Lombard nowhere takes up the definition, and Thomas Aquinas, with whom begins the special treatment of the papacy in systems of theology, also practically ignores it except as he devoted himself to the pope's absolute supremacy.

The Fourth Lateran Council had defined the church as the one universal church of the faithful, outside of which no one can at all be saved—*una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia extra quam nullus omnino salvatur*. This definition was narrowed to the Roman Church in the profession demanded of the Waldenses, namely "we believe with the heart and confess that the one church is not of the heretics but the Holy Roman Catholic Church, outside of which no one can be saved."[3]

This statement and the theory of Innocent III, claiming for the pope fullness of power—*potestatis plenitudo*—received the great weight of Thomas Aquinas' assent. In his *Rule of Princes* and *Errors of the Greeks*, the angelic doctor not only declared that obedience was due to the Roman Church as to the Lord Jesus himself,—*cui obediendum est tanquam Domino Deo, Jesu*[4]; but he used the very words that Boniface afterwards employed: "Subjection to the Roman Pontiff is of necessity to salvation," *Romano pontifici est de necessitate salutis*.

[1] See Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, 4th ed., 1906, p. 370.
[2] *De sacramentis*, i., 2.
[3] Schwane, *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 504.
[4] Reusch, p. 9, and Mirbt, *Quellen*, 3d edition, p. 157.

Boniface's audacious deliverance, therefore, not only breathed the proud hierarchical spirit of Innocent III but had behind it the very words of the great pope and of the great doctor, Thomas. Had it not been for his personality, Boniface's deliverance might have been relegated to the papal archives without making much stir. But with the thirteenth century, the age of Innocent and Gregory IX was passing away. The times of Boniface were such that, though Louis the Fair was by no means so notable an antagonist of the temporal claims of the papacy as Frederick II had been, his protest against papal abolutism gathered the French nation around him.[1] In fact, Boniface's bull proved to be a bomb in the century following its issuance. It would not be easy to point to a document which aroused so violent a disturbance. A keen body of pamphleteers, such as the church had not witnessed before, arose within its pale, attacking the citadel of the mediæval papacy and subjecting anew the constitution of the church to scrutiny and definition—for the first time since Augustine had controversy with the Donatists.[2] The expatriation of the papacy to French soil, soon after Boniface's death, and the papal schism, with which the fourteenth century closed, forced the mind of Christendom to discuss the question of church authority. Boniface's bull was the text as well as the original provocation of this discussion, which lasted more than a century.

In the early half of the fourteenth century, the temporal claims of the pope were attacked by Dante, John of Paris, and Peter Dubois and others who denied Constantine's right to confer secular authority upon the earthly head of the church. The second group of pamphleteers, of whom Ockam and Marsiglius of Padua were the leaders, went further and

[1] Schaff, *Church History*, v., Part 1, pp. 674, 777.

[2] See Riezler, *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwig des Baiers*. Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz* VIII. Haller, *Papstthum und Kirchenreform*. Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz* VIII.

attacked the claim of supreme spiritual supremacy made by the Roman pontiff.[1] As the Frenchmen among these pamphleteers were stirred with sympathy for Louis the Fair, so Ockam and Marsiglius were stirred by the decision of John XXII against the Spiritual Franciscans and by John's fulminations and the atrocious bulls of his successor pronounced against Lewis the Bavarian. The government of the church, so Ockam affirmed, Christ left to the community of the faithful. He denied that Christ had appointed a primacy in Rome. The church is the community of the faithful, comprehending clerics and laymen — *congregatio fidelium quæ clericos et laicos comprehendit.* It may be reduced to one person and that a woman, as was the case with Mary, who remained true when all the disciples fled. The church cannot err, but the pope may err and has erred. He is not essential to the church, but is of human appointment, *ex ordinatione humana.*[2]

Marsiglius, who went much further than Ockam or any of his predecessors in assailing the then order of things, was anathematized by John XXII for asserting that Peter was not the head of the church, that the church may depose popes, that the distinction between bishops and priests is unscriptural, and that the church has no authority to coerce by physical measures.

These discussions of the early half of the fourteenth century were followed by the discussions which ultimately led to the calling of the Council of Constance. They were opened by Konrad of Gelnhausen and Henry of Langenstein and were participated in by the University of Paris and by Wyclif. The Englishman went much further than any of his contemporaries in displaying the doctrinal and ritual errors of the church and, in this, was nearest to the Italian, Marsiglius. Wyclif was a doctrinal reformer, indeed.

[1] See Schaff, *Church History*, v., Part 2.

[2] See David E. Culley, *Konrad von Gelnhausen, seine Lehre, seine Werke und seine Quellen.* Halle, 1913, p. 84 *sqq.*

In the interest of healing the papal schism by the aid of a general council, Konrad of Gelnhausen adopted Ockam's definition of the church, adding, however, Bernard's clause, "in the unity of the sacraments." He followed Ockam in asserting that outside the Roman Church, which is a particular church, there may be salvation.[1] The pope and the cardinals, whom he affirmed "many" called the church, may err and commit mortal sin. To the body of the faithful belongs spiritual authority. It has the right even to depose popes.

These views of Peter Dubois, Ockam, Marsiglius of Padua, Konrad of Gelnhausen, and other writers, were for thinking Europe a matter of general knowledge in the fourteenth century. Huss was heir to these views though he does not quote these writers by name. The denial of the claim made in the last clause of Boniface's bull was a part of this heritage. Savonarola partook of these views, in part at least. He appealed from Alexander VI to a general council and, in his dying moments, when the Bishop of Verona declared him separate from the church militant and triumphant, the Florentine monk replied: "Not from the church triumphant."

There was one man who stood behind Huss in the shadow and whose writings were to Huss as daily bread—John Wyclif. Wyclif he boldly avows as his teacher and he quotes entire paragraphs from Wyclif's writings with little modification. For, in Bohemia, the Englishman was as the fifth evangelist. Huss's views on the church are Wyclif's views. His Scriptural proofs are largely Wyclif's proofs. His restriction of the authority of the Roman pontiff, his definition of absolution, his interpretation of Christ as the rock, his assertion of the supreme authority of the law of Christ, his denial of validity to acts of pope or priest, living in mortal sin—these are all found in Wyclif. For Wyclif's views Huss went to the stake.

[1] Haller, p. 87. Culley, pp. 60, 86.

Loserth's contention that Huss drew directly from the letter of Wyclif's *De ecclesia* is easily proved.[1] This, however, is also to be said in defense of assigning to Huss's work a high place in the history of ecclesiological definition and church reformation.

1. Huss absorbed Wyclif's spirit. He was no formal imitator. He was no plagiarist, seeking in the garments of another to secure for himself position or fame. His soul burned with passion for the truths Wyclif had asserted. He was ready to die for his convictions and he did die for them.

2. Huss's treatise seems to me to be upon the whole the more consequential of the two. Both men were under grave charges, but Huss writes, having, as it were, constantly in his eye, the definite fulminations against him. His treatment proceeds by gradual steps and culminates in the justification of himself against the ecclesiastical sentences.

3. Huss is much less severe in his judgment upon individuals and always more moderate in his language than Wyclif. Wyclif uses a sharp blade. The Bohemian preacher carries to his writing desk the homiletic instinct of the preacher addressing a popular audience. He never applies to a pope the epithet which Wyclif applies to Gregory XI—*horrendus diabolus*.[2] He never calls the pope "the vicar of the fiend," although he does illustrate the maladministration of his office by that of Judas. He nowhere directly denies the authority of accredited church teachers as Wyclif denies the authority of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura.[3] In a word, Huss's work is that of a man who is thoroughly convinced of his positions, but lacking the polemical sharpness

[1] In his *Wiclif and Hus* and his edition of Wyclif's *Tractatus de ecclesia*, Introduction. Since the discovery of Huss's *Super IV libros Sententiarum*, a larger measure of originality has been again claimed for the Bohemian.

[2] Wyclif, *De ecclesia*, p. 366.

[3] Wyclif, p. 507.

of his great English forerunner as well as his scholastic subtlety.[1]

In conclusion, then, we may say that Huss's *De ecclesia* does not occupy a place of foremost importance in the history of ecclesiology by the originality of its teachings. It has, however, a right to a place in the forefront of writings on the church, from the fact that it proceeded from a man popular with his people, that its positions were taken up at the great assembly at Constance and that its author, because of them, suffered the death penalty, a death penalty which, in the history of religious progress and humane opinion, stands for as much as any martyrdom, except that of Calvary, and probably for more than any except that one.

Huss's opinions on the church drew forth the condemning vote of those two most enlightened men, d'Ailli and John Gerson. His writings were known to Luther. As a student at Erfurt, Luther read in them and he wondered how it was that their author had been burnt. At Leipzig, at great personal hazard, he took Huss's part against the Council of Constance and in later years he wrote Prefaces to Huss's Works. In one of these he declared that, if "John Huss is to be held as a heretic, then there is hardly a single person upon whom the sun has looked down who can honestly be called a Christian." Huss directly influenced the Reformation; Wyclif not at all, except as he spoke through writings to the soul of the Bohemian Reformer. It is the high merit of Huss's memory that through his *De ecclesia* and his treatment at Constance, the question of the church was kept prominently before Europe. At the close of the fifteenth century, Wessel exclaimed: "The church cannot err, but what is the church? It is the communion of the saints to which all true

[1] Wyclif speaks of the *monstrosa superbia ecclesiæ occidentalis*, p. 362, and says that if the pope had inherent right to forgive sins and did not absolve all men, he would be most guilty, pp. 549, 551, 556. 561, etc. Baptism, he says, does not delete all original sin, and the defect of final perseverance is the most grave defect of sin, p. 467. The last clause of Boniface's bull is to be detested, p. 38. See also Schaff, *Church History*, V., Part 2, p. 322 *sqq.*

believers belong who are bound together by one faith, one love, one hope." The nature and prerogatives of the church constituted the fundamental question which was waiting for settlement. To Boniface's proud assertion which Ockam, Marsiglius of Padua, Wyclif, and Huss, in the light of Scripture and history, declared to be without foundation, it remained for the Reformation to give a staggering blow.

True to the mediæval conception, Leo X confirmed Boniface's *Unam sanctam*, and Prierias declared the church to be in essence the community of believers but virtually the Roman Church and the Roman pontiff—*ecclesia universalis essentialiter est convocatio credentium virtualiter ecclesia Romana et pontifex maximus.*[1] The Catholic polemic of the seventeenth century, with Bellarmine at its head, made the rule of the papacy of the essence of the definition of the church. In 1873, Pius IX declared to the Emperor William, that all the baptized are in some sense subject to the Roman pontiff.[2]

On the other hand, the Augsburg Confession,—first of Protestant confessions,—defined the church to be "the body of the saints in which the sacraments are rightly administered and Christ is truly preached." The Thirty-nine Articles virtually repeated this definition, except that they use the term "visible" of the church and substitute the more mediæval expression "faithful men" for saints. Again, will the distinction represented by these two classes of documents and writers be brought clearly to the attention of the Christian world by the fifth centenary of Huss's death in 1915. That anniversary will afford a memorable opportunity for the re-examination of the whole question of the authority of the church. Would that the Christian world in

[1] John of Turrecremata gave up one hundred of the chapters of his *Theology* to the discussion of the church.

[2] *Jeder welcher die Taufe empfangen hat, gehört in irgend einer Art und in irgend einer Weise . . . dem Papste an.* Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 371.

giving it fresh study might do so with Huss's words as a motto: "Not by custom should we be bound but by the example of Christ and his truth"—*non debemus consuetudinem sequi, sed Christi exemplum et veritatem.*[1]

[1] Huss's letter to Hawlik, written from Constance. See Palacky, *Documenta*, p. 128.

The Relation of Wessel Gansvoort to the Reformation

By

Edward Waite Miller

THE RELATION OF WESSEL GANSVOORT TO THE REFORMATION

By Edward Waite Miller, Secretary of the Foreign Board of the Reformed Church in America

(*Read December 30, 1913*)

IT is everywhere conceded that the forces which brought about the change in the religious life of Northern Europe that we call the Reformation were much more complex than was formerly supposed. No one now thinks of attributing results so widespread and permanent to restored emphasis on a single neglected doctrine, or to the personal influence of a few divinely commissioned men. However important to the movement Luther and his colleagues may have been, their importance is seen to lie chiefly in the fact that they embodied convictions and hopes that had been gradually developing in Teutonic Christendom. The modern student of the origins of the Reformation is not so much concerned with the lives of the Reformers as with the influences which made the Reformation possible. This is a much more difficult and a much more fascinating subject.

The chapter headings in any recent introduction to the Reformation will serve to indicate in how many directions and how far back the roots of this great movement may be traced. Emphasis is placed upon influences which are only in a secondary sense religious. Causes of the Reformation are found in the intellectual and political and social and industrial condition of Northern Europe in decades which preceded Luther's epoch-making theses. Affected by the

evolutionary hypothesis which unconsciously shapes our thinking on all subjects, we are coming to regard the changes of the sixteenth century—not as formerly in the nature of a revolution—but as the natural result of a long development. This certainly does not lessen their interest nor detract from their religious significance. On the other hand, it assists us in bringing a wider range of events under our conception of divine Providence.

Even the earlier writers on the Reformation felt the inadequacy of a treatment which began with a study of the lives of the Reformers. Some went so far as to trace Protestantism back through obscure sects, such as the Friends of God and the Waldenses, even to the Apostolic Church. To them it was as if the one pure stream of Christian doctrine and practice had flowed underground through most of its course, and came permanently to the surface only in the sixteenth century. Others, less biased in their view of the Church of the Middle Ages, declined to regard the Reformers as men born out of due time, religious Melchizedeks. Intellectual and spiritual ancestors—immediate and remote—were discovered for them. They figure under such familiar designations as "precursors of Luther" and "Mediæval Protestants" and "Reformers before the Reformation."

It may be said in defense of these writers who found in earlier teachers of an evangelical bent a preparation for the Reformation that though they neglected the other influences on which so much emphasis is now being placed, yet their contention has gained new force from the more minute study recently given to the literary remains of the fifteenth century. There were men, not a few, in that century, who approximated or anticipated the teachings of the Reformers. And it is now possible to trace at least in some representative cases, the influence of these men upon the Protestant Reformation.

On the other hand, it is somewhat disconcerting to those who are inflexibly committed to the theory of an orderly

evolution in the progress of thought that they should find among the so-called forerunners of Luther several hardy assailants of the Mediæval Church, who at some points were more Protestant than the leader of Protestantism himself! Such men as Marsiglio and Wyclif and Huss were, each in his way, much more radical than Luther or his colleagues. Their teachings needed to be toned down somewhat before they would be available for the Protestant propaganda.

But among those who unquestionably contributed to the preparation for the Reformation is the Dutch scholar, whose full name is John Wessel Gansvoort. His life was as lacking in events of dramatic interest as was that of his famous compatriot of the next generation. He was—even more than Erasmus—a man of the schools, and outside academic circles had but little contact with life. He was born in Groningen in the province of Friesland about 1420. Being early left an orphan, he was cared for by a lady of wealth and cultivation who had him educated with her sons. He at first attended the school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Groningen and later their more famous school at Zwolle. Here he came under the influence of Thomas à Kempis who was canon in the neighboring monastery of St. Agnes. But although at the time under twenty years of age Wessel manifested his independence of mind by venturing a criticism upon Thomas's extreme devotion to asceticism and to the worship of the Virgin. It was significant both of his character and his scholarship that he should have been appointed one of the lectors of the school. The emphasis placed by the Brethren of the Common Life upon simple piety and Bible study seems to have left a permanent impress upon Wessel's character. From Zwolle he proceeded to the then famous University of Cologne, where he found little to his liking in the theological instruction. Its spirit was that of intolerant scholastic dogmatism and resistance to the New Learning. One of its professors boasted that he had pushed John Huss back into the fire at Constance; and later the university became the

chief seat of the Inquisition in Germany. In the theological lecture halls Wessel heard few references to the Scriptures, while Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas were quoted as final authorities. Fortunately he read widely in the libraries open to the university students and made copious extracts from the authors that most appealed to him. He remained at Cologne about ten years, long enough to take his master's degree, and to make himself thoroughly unpopular with the professors by constantly raising theological questions which they were unprepared to answer.

When he left Cologne, Wessel may be said to have begun his career as a wandering scholar. He was called to a chair of instruction at Heidelberg, but he had set his heart on Paris, where he hoped to win his spurs in the defense of Realism, which was then losing ground at the Parisian school. But before going thither he spent a year in further study at Louvain. Paris was then the foremost theological school in the world, and there Wessel, with occasional visits to other French universities, appears to have spent about sixteen years, studying and teaching private classes. For though he became influential in the life of the university, there is no evidence that he ever held a regular professorship. While his chief interest always lay in the field of theology, he traversed many other fields and won distinction for encyclopædic knowledge, and for a skill in dialectic which rendered him a dreaded antagonist in the arenas of academic debate. His enthusiasm for the Greek and Hebrew languages made him conspicuous among the advocates of the New Learning, and several famous Humanists acknowledge their obligation to him. He was scarcely less distinguished for his knowledge of medicine, and it seems probable that it was by the practice of medicine that he won his livelihood at Paris and Rome.

It is indicative of his openness of mind that though he had come to Paris as a champion of Realism, he soon discovered that his training at Cologne had but ill equipped him for such

a task. Overcome by the arguments of his opponents, he promptly deserted Realism for Formalism, and that later for Nominalism, which more accorded with his bent of mind and his fondness for Plato, whom he delighted to read in the original. It was at Paris that Wessel won both the titles by which he was known to the students of his day. Because of his vast knowledge and his skill as a teacher his admirers called him, according to the extravagant language of the times, "the Light of the World"; while his enemies, seizing upon his love of paradox, called him "the Master of Contradictions."

Among his intimate friends at Paris was Francesco della Rovere who became Pope Sixtus IV. Wessel accompanied him to Rome, perhaps as his physician, and was there associated with the scholars of the papal court, among whom his deviations from current theological opinion, especially in regard to indulgences, were matters of frequent comment. One incident in Wessel's relation to his friend Sixtus IV well illustrates his character and his devotion to the Scriptures. When asked by the new Pope what boon he desired conferred on him (and it will be recalled that Sixtus bestowed papal favors with a most liberal hand), Wessel replied that what he most desired was a Hebrew and Greek Bible from the Vatican Library. The Pope granted his desire, with the remark that he was a fool for not asking for a rich bishopric.

The atmosphere of Rome was no more agreeable to Wessel than it was later to Luther, and after visiting some of the Italian schools he returned to Paris, where he remained a year or more. It was then that he met Reuchlin and assisted him in his studies of Greek and Hebrew. Being threatened with persecution because of his free handling of some current superstitions, he left Paris for Basel. After a short stay there he was again called by the Elector Philip to a professorship at Heidelberg. He was now nearly sixty years of age, and as there was opposition to his coming on the part of

some of the professors at Heidelberg, and it was apparent that he was becoming a mark for persecution, he withdrew from Heidelberg after two years and returned to his native city. There he was safe under the protection of his friend, the powerful Bishop of Utrecht.

His last ten years, though spent somewhat in retirement, were among the most fruitful of his life. They were devoted largely to authorship and to conferences with the students and distinguished scholars who came to consult with him. Probably most of his writings belong to this period. Though always the scholar and the keen dialectician, and eager to induce young students to apply themselves to Greek and Hebrew, yet in his last days his interests became more distinctly religious, and his essays and devotional writings reveal a broad strain of mystical piety. He died at Groningen, when about seventy years of age, having made this final confession of his humble faith: "I know naught beyond Christ and Him crucified."

Wessel was in many respects a typical mediæval scholar, spending his life in the schools, living for the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge. He had no official relation to the Church, and refused ordination when it would have given him needed protection. Although he was brought up in the semi-monastic schools of the Brethren and ended his days in the quiet scholarly atmosphere of the cloister, yet he declined to take monastic vows, though he had been urged thereto, in his boyhood, by Thomas à Kempis.

In attempting an estimate of Wessel's contribution toward the Reformation it is important to notice his location in point of time. Most of the Protestant leaders were born during the last decade of his life. We may think of Wessel's life as having ended just a generation before the Reformation began. The interval was long enough for his teachings to have spread widely from the academic centers where he spent most of his life, but not long enough for his immediate disciples to have died off and his influence to have become

dissipated. Had Wessel lived to be a hundred years old, he would have seen all Northern Europe in agitation because of the publication of views which he had himself quietly taught at Paris and Heidelberg and Groningen.

Wessel had in him very little of the iconoclast. It may be questioned whether he ever dreamed of the possibility of any one overthrowing the papal institutions and rebuilding the ecclesiastical structure from its foundations. His criticism of the Church of his day was aimed, not at her destruction, but her amendment. He saw the defects in her administration, her abuse of power, the greed of her prelates, the unworthy men who occupied her highest positions. He condemned the superstition of the monks and their practice upon the ignorance of the common people. He grieved at the low moral standards that prevailed in the priesthood, and the lack of intelligent piety among the laity. But these things do not bulk very large in his writings. If in early life he may have lifted his voice in their bold condemnation, in later life, when he took up his pen, he realized that improvement was to come, not so much from condemning the wrong as from pointing out the right way. To this rule there is one marked exception. That was his treatment of the matter of Indulgences. They were not then such a crying abuse as a generation later, but nevertheless Wessel's attack upon them was much more severe than that of Luther in his Ninety-five Theses. These assailed, not the practice of Indulgences but its abuse, while Wessel boldly attacked the principle on which the practice rested, and the related doctrines of purgatory and personal satisfactions. A comparison of Luther's Theses with those of Wessel reveals how much more deeply the latter had thought on the whole problem.

The fifteenth century abounded in severe critics of the Church and bold assailants of the popes. The leaders of the Council at Constance had affirmed that the Church needed to be reformed "in root and branch." If Wessel had done nothing more than condemn her abuses in administration

and her unbiblical doctrines, he would have contributed little or nothing to her reformation, and would have slight claim indeed to our attention. It is because his teachings were constructive and his influence positive that he deserves to be mentioned with the Reformers. Some modern Catholic writers have denied Wessel's Protestantism and have claimed him as a loyal son of the Church. But the Council of Trent put his writings in the Index of Prohibited Books, and Wessel himself informs us that the Inquisitors at Cologne, who had condemned his friend John of Wesel to life-long penance, were planning his destruction.

All admit that the New Learning, the study of the ancient languages and literatures, especially the Greek and the Hebrew, aided greatly in restoring the Scriptures to a proper understanding and appreciation, and in awakening interest in the study of the early Church. Wessel was an enthusiastic Humanist. The stories of his journeys to Greece and Egypt to perfect himself in the ancient languages are doubtless exaggerations, but they indicate his reputation as a linguist. One thing is very certain, he regarded it as extremely important to be able to read the Biblical writers and the Greek sages in their original languages, and he was often engaged either in teaching young men the so-called sacred languages or encouraging and directing them in such studies. When we think of the years that he spent in academic circles, and the high esteem in which he was held by the students, we must regard his strong advocacy of the study of Greek and Hebrew as among the agencies that prepared the next generation of scholars to read the Bible in its original languages. Two distinguished Humanists, mentioned by every writer upon the Reformation, Reuchlin and Agricola, afford marked examples of Wessel's influence in directing promising young scholars toward the study of the Biblical languages.

The two outstanding principles of the Reformation were justification by faith and the supreme authority of the

Scriptures. These, as we shall see, Wessel taught in terms scarcely less emphatic than Luther himself. But there are other doctrines logically related to these two, which still remain distinctive of Protestantism. Let us notice Wessel's position upon some of the most important of these, remembering, of course, that he was a student of the Early Fathers and the Schoolmen as well as the Scriptures, and that in many cases he only revived or restated more cogently doctrines held by earlier writers.

One of the fundamental points of difference between the Reformers and the teachings of the Church related to the conception of the moral nature of man. The mediæval anthropology leaned toward Pelagianism; the Reformers revived the teachings of Paul and Augustine. In this they had been anticipated by Wessel. While not going to the length of Luther's determinism as set forth in his unfortunate essay on "The Bondage of the Will," yet Wessel makes it very plain that man needs more than encouragement and favorable surroundings to develop into a child of God, or as he expresses it, "one who bears the divine image." He cannot take the first step in that direction without divine assistance. He is wholly dependent upon the gracious operation of the divine Spirit, which enables him to overcome his moral helplessness. This conception of our relation to God appears also in his doctrine of divine Providence in which he says:

> To will and to do is of God. . . . We enter into fellowship with God, who works; and this consonance itself comes partly from the grace of God and partly from us; from us, in as far as we also work; from God, in as far as He works as the supreme and perfect cause.[1]

The doctrine of man's utter dependence upon God for salvation is in a sense the parting of the ways between the

[1] *De Providentia* (*M. Wesseli Gansfortii Groningensis . . . Opera quae inveniri potuerunt omnia*, Groningae 1614, p. 713).

Reformers and the leaders of the Mother Church, in whose penitential system and doctrine of purgatory, the idea of human merit, which puts God under obligation, was so prominent a feature. And here Wessel unhesitatingly followed Paul and Augustine.

It has already been noticed that Wessel's writings have in them a large element of mysticism. He had been brought up in an atmosphere of mystical piety, but his love of dialectic always prevented his thinking from becoming vague and nebulous. Wessel was true to the mystic's fundamental postulate that the soul of man can come into immediate contact with God. This of course tended to lessen the mportance of both the Church and the sacraments. These might mediate the grace of God to men, but they must not come between God and man. Christ is the only mediator between God and man, and He Himself is both God and man.

In the popular estimation as well as in the teaching of her leaders, the Church was the exclusive and divinely appointed agency for the mediation of salvation to men. Her doctrines and her sacraments were the only means of reconciliation to God. At this point, Wessel took his stand squarely on the Protestant position. His conception of the Church is not that of a visible institution through which one may approach God, but rather is that of the company of those who are bound by personal faith and love to Christ. Though he nowhere defines the Church, yet he frequently uses the word as equivalent to the "Communion of the Saints," the one body of Christ's followers on earth and in heaven. The unity of the Church he found, not in its allegiance to one visible earthly ruler, but in a common faith in Christ. Adherents to the Greek Church, pious men everywhere, were members of this one Catholic Church. Speaking of the remote peoples to whom the gospel has come he says: "These Christians, because of the unity of faith and piety and love constitute with us one Catholic and

Apostolic Church, even though they have never heard that there exists such a city as Rome or such a person as the Roman Bishop."[1]

From this spiritual conception of the Church it is easy to infer Wessel's views as to the priesthood and the Pope. As a mystic he believed in the universal priesthood of all Christians. Nevertheless, he admits the utility of a special priesthood. He says:

> There is a double priesthood. The one is a matter of rank, and is sacramentally communicated; the other is a matter of rational nature and is common to all. Without the first the second is sufficient. The first, when the second is wanting, involves even guilt; the second of itself brings grace.[2]

"The priest has no authority," says Wessel, "as a teacher unless he teaches the truth; no authority as a ruler except as he rules in the spirit of Christ; no power to absolve except as he declares Christ's absolution to the penitent." He says:

> The priest in the sacrament of Confession is no more a judge or absolver than he is a purifier in the sacrament of baptism. For though he outwardly sprinkles with water, still Christ alone baptizes with the Holy Ghost. And the same is the case in the other sacraments. The priest performs the visible service, but exercises no right of power: for the spiritual life, produced by the grace of the Holy Spirit, is imparted by none but Christ Himself.[3]

Such a conception of the priesthood involved necessarily a denial of all the special assumptions of the Pope. He was not essential to the unity of the Church, since that rested upon a common faith in Christ its only head. As to the teaching authority of the Pope he includes it under this general statement: "It is only when the clergy and doctors agree with the true and sole Teacher that we ought to listen to them."[4] Concerning papal legislation he says: "The

[1] *Opera, De Sacr. Pœnit.*, p. 780. [2] *Ibid.*, 775. [3] *Ibid.*, 794.
[4] *Opera, De Potest. Eccl.*, p. 761.

laws and statutes of prelates are binding according to the wisdom they contain. They are obligatory in so far as they are consonant to Christ; otherwise not,"[1] and "it is the function of a theologian to determine how far the commands of Pontiffs are obligatory."[2]

Wessel had had intimate acquaintance with at least one of the popes, famous for his nepotism, and that may have confirmed his conviction of their fallibility. His whole notion of the Church and its officers is summed up in this one statement: The officership of the Church has been instituted for the purpose of a peaceable and inoffensive association of the sons of God with each other, as far as that can be effected by the prudence and care of frail man when assisted by God.

In this connection we may well notice Wessel's unequivocal statements of the supreme authority of the Scriptures. His training under the Brethren of the Common Life had early brought him into acquaintance with the Bible. He had studied it all his life. His knowledge of its original languages had given him a certain confidence in his understanding of it. He believed in its full inspiration and infallibility. As to its comparative authority he says: "So long as it appears to me that the Pope or the schools or any other society maintain any opinion contrary to the truth of Scripture, my first duty is to adhere with the utmost care to Scripture." In another connection he adds: "For the most part teachers, and especially an assembly of teachers, will reach the truth but inasmuch as they may possibly err, inasmuch as this may happen even to a Council and a Pope, the Gospel alone must be the ultimate and supreme rule." There could be no more emphatic statement of this great Protestant doctrine, unless it be his declaration: "I believe the Gospel more than any number of mortals whatsoever."[3]

It may be admitted that the doctrine of justification by faith occupies no such prominence in Wessel's writings as in

[1] *Opera, De Potest. Eccl.*, p. 752. [2] *Ibid.*, 767.
[3] *Opera, Epist. ad J. Hoeck*, p. 893.

Luther's. Wessel had had an entirely different religious experience. He had never tried to justify himself by fasts and vigils and flagellations. He had early been taught to accept salvation as God's free gift to the believer. Yet he realized that according to the common opinion, salvation was to be won by a combination of one's own good deeds and God's grace and the good offices of the Church. Hence he does not fail to emphasize the truth that faith, in the sense of a personal appropriation of Jesus Christ as one's Savior and Master, is the only way to secure reconciliation with God and a holy life. To a nun he writes: "No one will ever be saved by his own merits, no one by his own righteousness. There is only one sacrifice of the great High Priest, and in so far as we participate in it, just so far are we sanctified."[1] In a treatise on the sufferings of our Lord he says:

> He who believes that he shall be justified by his own works knows not what righteousness is. . . . On the other hand, whosoever on hearing the Gospel, believes and longs and hopes, and with confidence embraces it as a joyful message, and loves the Justifier and the Savior whom it proclaims, and in order to win him, does and suffers all things, extols not his own works . . . ascribes nothing to himself, well knowing that he does nothing of himself.[2]

Wessel's resolution of the apparent contradiction between Paul and James in the matter of faith and works is so characteristic of his luminous method, that I venture to quote it at some length. He writes:

> We believe both that a man is justified by faith in Christ without works; and that faith without works is dead. These doctrines of Paul and James are different but not contradictory. Common to both is the conviction that the just shall live by faith. But the faith meant is that which worketh by love. It is by works that the body shows itself alive; if these are not per-

[1] *Opera, Epistola Sorori*, p. 656.
[2] *Opera, De Magnit. Pass.*, p. 553.

formed, it is looked upon as dead. And were a man to exercise none of the vital functions of the body, he would at once be reckoned lifeless. But though it is by the exercise of these functions that we judge him to be alive, it is not by their exercise that he lives. He lives by that which is their source, the soul; and the more and the nobler the functions which he exercises, the more does he live.[1]

Ullmann is authority for the statement that no other writer of the Middle Ages so closely approximated Luther's position on this great doctrine as did Wessel.

A discussion of Wessel's teaching concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist has been postponed till now, because in this particular as in some others Wessel was not so much the precursor of Luther as of Zwingli. He not only combated the current doctrine of the automatic efficacy of the Sacraments, making the participant's disposition the measure of their efficacy; but he went so far toward the Quaker position as to assert that He who believes, feeds upon the body of Christ, even though it be nowhere externally offered to him.

The line of fracture between the two parties into which Protestantism almost at once separated was their divergent views of the Lord's Supper. Luther with characteristic fidelity to the words of Scripture clung to the old doctrine of the supernatural presence of Christ in the consecrated elements. Zwingli and his colleagues believed the service to be in the nature of a memorial. Christ was present not in a material but in a spiritual or sacramental sense. Inasmuch as the Eucharist had been central to the Mediæval worship, and seemed to be wrapped up with the doctrine of the Atonement, it was felt, by Luther at least, that the two parties could not coöperate.

In connection with this difference between the Reformers Wessel's teaching on the subject has peculiar interest. He

[1] *Opera, De Magnit. Pass.*, p. 550.

unquestionably anticipated the view of Zwingli and his Reformed colleagues, and it seems altogether probable that they took it directly from him. There is a story, contained in the early biography of Wessel written by Hardenberg and quoted by Ullmann, too long to relate in detail here, of two Dutch admirers of Wessel who took several of his writings to Wittenberg to show them to Luther, who was so much pleased with them that he had them published, sometime about 1522. But from this edition Luther excluded a treatise on the Eucharist, because it did not agree with the doctrine of consubstantiation to which he had committed himself. The two Netherlanders took their documents to Œcolampadius also and finally to Zwingli. Both of these leaders accepted Wessel's view of the Eucharist as well as most of his other doctrines, and incorporated them in their teachings and writings. This story appears to be substantially true, and it is one of several incidents that lead to the conviction that on all those doctrinal points on which the Reformed Church differs from the Lutheran, Wessel anticipated the Reformed position. In Switzerland, in the region of Heidelberg, where he once taught, as well as in Friesland where he had disciples by the thousand, it was the Reformed type of Protestantism that developed from the very beginning of the Reformation. Hence one might say that if Calvin was the father of the doctrinal system of the Reformed Church, Wessel was its grandfather!

From 1521 on, Wessel's *Farrago* and *Essay on the Eucharist*, issued in many editions and from different centers, went into the general stream of Reformation literature, and apparently had a wide reading. Many of the Reformers have left personal testimony to the influence of Wessel's writings upon them. The list includes Erasmus, Melancthon, Zwingli, Geldenhauer, and others in his native Friesland. But most interesting of all is the testimony of Luther. It forms a part of the introduction to his edition of Wessel's *Farrago*—the one from which he had omitted the

objectionable article on the Eucharist. It is in part as follows:

But lo! word comes to me that the Lord has saved his remnant and even at this time his prophets are safe in hiding. And this is not only told to me, but to my joy, it is proven to me. For, behold, a Wessel has appeared, whom they call Basilius, a Frisian from Groningen, a man of remarkable ability, a rare and great spirit. And he appears to have been truly taught of the Lord, just as Isaiah prophesied the Christians would be. For no one could believe that he received his doctrines from men, any more than I did mine. If I had earlier read Wessel, my enemies might have said that I had borrowed all my teachings from him, his spirit is so in accord with mine.[1]

A PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

The only complete edition of the surviving works of Wessel Gansvoort was issued at Groningen in 1614. The most reliable sources of material for his biography are the personal references in his writings and the early sketches of his life written by Hardenberg and Geldenhauer who lived a generation after him and had access to those who knew him intimately. These interesting sketches appear in the preface to the complete edition of his works. Brief but excellent biographies of Wessel are to be found in *Effigies et Vitæ Professorum Academiæ Groningenæ et Omlandiæ*, Groningen, 1654, and in Bayle, *Dictionaire Historique et Critique*, Rotterdam, 1696.

Little was added to the work of these early writers upon Wessel until the middle of the last century, when several extensive studies of his life and writings were published. Most important of these were the following: Wm. Muurling's *Commentatio de Wesseli Gansfortii vita*, Utrecht, 1831; his *Oratio de Wesseli Gansfortii*, Amsterdam, 1840; Ullmann's biography was afterward elaborated in his *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, Hamburg, 1842, issued in English by T. &. T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1855; B. Bähring's *Leben Johann Wessels*, Bielefeld, 1852; J. Fried-

[1] *Opera, Christiano Lectori*, p. 854.

rich's *Johann Wessel*, Regensburg, 1862; J. J. Doedes *Historisch-Litterarisches zur Biographie J. Wessels* (*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1870); Hofstede de Groote, *Johan Wessel Ganzevoort*, Groningen, 1871.

Interesting because of their different conclusions are the articles on Wessel in the new Catholic and Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopedias*. The most recent discussion of his doctrinal system is Ödön Tezley's *Wessel Gansfort*, Leva, 1911.

For the use of students to whom the very rare editions of Wessel in the original are inaccessible, the writer is about to issue an English translation of his *Farrago and Letters*, with a brief biography.

Luther and Toleration

By

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LUTHER AND TOLERATION

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WHAT were Luther's views on religious toleration? These are set forth for the first time in his little book, *Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei* (1523).[1] I give here a brief abstract of this epoch-making treatise.

The state exists by divine right. Its object is to keep peace, ward off evil deeds, punish the bad, and protect the good. Therefore Christians should subject themselves to the sword, and Christian rulers should bear the sword. The testimonies of Christ against the use of force, against oaths, etc., are intended only to forbid a *selfish* use, against *private* revenge, but not against the state as the guardian of peace and order. But this authority must not go beyond its own function—to keep external order. It cannot make men pious. God only rules the soul. No one should compel another to faith, which is a free work, a divine work in the spirit. Therefore we have the proverb, Thoughts are not taxable. In matters of the soul we must obey God rather than man. If tyrants take away our Bibles, suffer it, but do not give them up. As to rulers generally they are often a sorry set. From the beginning of the world till now a good clever prince is a rare bird; they are generally the greatest fools or the greatest scoundrels on earth. When you find a prince who is clever,

[1] *Dr. Martin Luthers sämmtliche Werke*, Erlangen 1826–1857, Bd. 22, 59–105. Extracts in Köstlin, *Martin Luther: sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 5th Aufl., 1., 582–4 (1903). (References are to the first Erlangen edition unless otherwise noted.)

pious, and a Christian, that is the greatest wonder and the truest sign of the divine grace. But the world is too evil for good rulers,—it is not worthy of them. Frogs must have storks. But for all that, they are to be had in respect for their office, which is to punish evildoers and keep external peace. In regard to using

> worldly power to ward off heresies,—that is the work of bishops, not of princes. For heresy can never be prevented by force; God's word is to be used here; if that cannot do it, it will remain undone by secular power, even if the latter fills the world with blood. Heresy is a spiritual thing; it cannot be cut with iron, nor burnt with fire, nor extinguished with water.

The weapons against heresy are those mentioned in Isaiah xi:4. When God's word enlightens the heart, heresy falls of itself. To go at it with fire and sword is like fighting a lightning storm with a blade of straw. In a Christian spirit a prince should serve his subjects in love, and use punishment with intelligence and moderation. War is permissible if it is waged not for conquest but for protection of the people. Before it begins peace and right should be offered the enemy. As to matters of legislation, administration, etc., this is not his (Luther's) territory. Christ did not lay down distinct rules here, nor do I. Let reason decide those matters. Should I teach a tailor to make a coat? He knows already.

It will be seen from this how unfounded was the reproach of revolution brought against Luther, who later said: "I might boast that since the apostles' time the worldly and secular authority have never been so clearly described and highly praised, as even my enemies must confess, as by me." In fact, over against the Catholic conception Luther brought out fully the complete independent justification of the worldly power, and over against some of the Anabaptists Luther defended the right of the Christians to bear rule and wield the sword. He likewise rose superior to the views of

some less-balanced spirits of the time that the state should be organized after a Scriptural pattern, especially after the Old Testament pattern. On the other hand Luther said: Let reason and circumstances govern in matters of organization, administration, and government. Hartwig is right when he says that it is Luther's undeniable service that he indicated the independent position of the state in opposition to the hierarchical assumptions of the Church on that territory.[1]

Luther wants the authorities to leave the Gospel a free field. He says the Gospel is God's affair, and he will see to it. "No sword can help it. God must alone care for it, without man's anxiety. Therefore who believes most will here protect most. Nor must the Elector step in too much. I want your Electoral Grace to know that I have received this Gospel not from man, but only from heaven through Jesus Christ." And should the emperor turn against him—for Luther was under the imperial ban—then let the elector be obedient to the imperial order and not go against the power which wants to imprison and kill him. For no one should oppose the power—that would be rebellion against God.[2]

It is not to be wondered at that the opponents of Luther have charged him with slavish deference to power. Scherr says that Luther's politics was that of slave-blessedness (*Knechtsseligkeit*). He had nothing else and desired nothing else (according to Scherr) than a literal Biblical theology, and because he held this with the iron energy and perseverance of a narrow but unbending conviction he was able under favorable circumstances to impress upon a whole era of German history the stamp of the Protestant theological spirit, while so many of his contemporaries, with their deeper and larger endeavors for material and social freedom, saw their hopes shattered.[3] But even here there was another

[1] *Luthers Stellung zur Politik*, Leipzig, 1899, 8.

[2] 53: 104–8 (1522).

[3] *Deutsche Kultur- und Sittengeschichte* (6. Aufl.), 264.

side to Luther. In a letter to the Elector, March 12, 1522, he justifies his leaving the Wartburg for Wittenberg without the Elector's knowledge or consent. He says that we should not always be obedient to authority, at least when the latter does anything against God. One should not despise it even then, for Christ showed respect to Pilate. I do not go to Wittenberg out of any lack of reverence for the emperor or yourself. Your Electoral Grace is lord of goods and bodies, but Christ is lord of the soul, which he has sent and awakened. On grounds of conscience, of love, and of fidelity I have come to Wittenberg, such grounds must hold against the favor or unfavor of the whole world. For not only worldly but also spiritual power must bend before the Gospel, if it proceeds with love and patience. For God will not judge me by another's faith but by my own conscience; for I know that my word and beginning are not from me but from God, so that neither persecution nor death can teach me otherwise. Wittenberg is my flock, my children in Christ. I am obligated to suffer even death for them.[1]

He who said these words taught no slavish obedience, but rather "claimed the right of freedom of conscience for himself and all Christians but still only freedom of *conscience*, which feels itself bound to the highest norm of the divine right and law."[2] There was no cowardly slave-feeling there but a joyful courage of faith. It seems to me that Freytag is nearer the truth than Scherr when he says that in "such loyalty there was no slavish sense, and in his frequent intercourse with the great there was a bold openness which more than once shocked the court-folks. To his electoral prince he spoke truths in all duty as only a great character could speak."[3]

The religious point of view ruled here. If the emperor wishes to force the subjects of the German princes from the

[1] 53:114–8. [2] Hartwig, 14.

[3] *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit: aus dem Jahrhundert der Reform.*, 102.

Gospel, expel or kill them, and the princes know that in that the emperor does wrong against God, then they shall not obey him; otherwise they become partakers in his evil deeds. For we must obey God rather than man.[1] But he is always exhorting to peace and moderation in all political relations. "Nothing is dearer to me than peace. I have hitherto taught peace as much as I could with diligence and with every man."[2]

Awhile ago I quoted Luther against forcing the conscience on religious matters. He says again that if the authorities overstep their bounds in matters of conscience then one should say to them: "Well now, dear prince, dear worldly authority, I am under obligation to thee, but not against the Over-Lord, against God. I will be obedient to thee in the circle over which thy power stretches and thou shouldst not grip in on God's power."[3] "Over the soul God wants no other to reign than himself. No one can command the soul or show it the way to heaven but God alone. Therefore in matters of the soul God's word shall teach and be taken. . . . It is impossible that among Christians the worldly sword and law should be invoked" (that is, in purely Christian matters).[4] "It belongs to every Christian (not to the pope or to the prince or clergy) to believe, to understand his faith, to contend for it and to condemn all errors." In saying that he gave a priceless banner to God's elect.

I came out against the pope, indulgences and all papists [he says in his second sermon at Wittenberg on his return from the Wartburg] but not with force, not with violence nor storm, but I have preached and written, and have had to do with God's word alone. If I had proceeded with force and trouble, I should have started such a plague that Germany would have soaked in blood. But what good would that do? A fool-play it would have been, and destruction to soul and body. I have sat still and let the Word act.[5]

[1] 54:141 (1530); 25:50 (1531). [2] 53:333 (1525). [3] 45:115.
[4] 22:82, 83 (1523). [5] 28:219, 220 (1523).

In his introductory words in his great book, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520), he also warns against trusting to worldly power. We fight here not with men, but with princes, who though they may fill the world with blood are not thus overcome. "One must, forsaking bodily force, in humble trust in God take hold of the cause, and with earnest prayer seek help from God, and keep nothing before one's eyes but the miserable state of Christendom, without having regard to what bad people deserve."[1]

Luther says other fine things. Judicial proceedings (he says) can have nothing to do with matters of faith. For here is life, secret life in God, which only he who knows the heart can judge, a life full of constant development, full of the highest intensity, thoughts and feelings that flow here and there; to take up a matter of fact, as the court demands, is impossible, because faith ceases where the definition of a fixed quantity begins. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," etc. (quoting John iii:8).

A court must be certain when it judges, and everything must be out in the clear light. But the soul, thoughts, feelings, can be revealed to no one except God; therefore it is impossible to command or force anyone to what he shall or shall not believe. It is an entirely different conception, where force has nothing to do. Every man has his own danger how he believes, and he must see to it for himself that he believes aright. For as little as one can go for me to heaven or hell, so little can he believe or not believe for me; and as little can he exclude me from heaven or include in hell, so little can he drive me to faith or unfaith. For faith is free. What could a heresy trial do anyway? It could do no more than to make the people follow in hand or mouth. It could not compel the heart. For true is the proverb: Thoughts are duty-free (zollfrei—not taxable). The soul is not under the emperor's power.[2]

Therefore in the first edition of the instruction of the visitors to the pastors in the Electorate of Saxony, 1528, Luther

[1] 21:274. [2] 22:88, 85, 84 (1523).

says that "no one can be compelled to faith, nor be brought from unbelief by command or force, for no compelled service pleases God, who will have only voluntary service."[1] So also in one of his church-postils we find this great word: "It does not help—neither burnings nor bulls nor bans. If one should take every sword in his hand, that brings no heretic to faith. . . . Therefore God has done away with the sword (that is, all force) in this matter."[2] In his letter to the Elector Frederick and Duke John of Saxony (August 21, 1524), he uses the famous words to the effect that spirits must be let to play against each other, and not be forcefully repressed. We must fight with words, not with fists. To preach and suffer is our office. The apostles did not go to work with force, but to win hearts with God's word. Stone and wood are not for us but the hearts of men. Cloisters are empty through my word alone. If I had gone to work with storm, as these prophets, many would still be in captivity.[3] Besides, history shows how vain punishment for heresy is. The Church did not burn heretics at the beginning. But what about Huss and Jerome of Prague? They were not heretics but the most Christian men. Their death is to be charged to the pope, not to the Church. The canon law forbids the clergy to bear weapons, but the pope does not care for that, asks for the quick death of the heretics, and tracks them out by the Inquisition. That is not Christian work but Satan's. "O Satan, Satan, Satan, woe to thee with the pope and thy papists."[4]

Those are splendid principles. Like benignant stars they shine on us from afar—lonely witnesses for religious freedom in the circle of the great Reformers. But alas! the many-sided Luther was not consistent here. He was too hampered by circumstances to be either willing or able to carry through that noble platform. Köstlin acknowledges the contradiction. In Luther's *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, for in-

[1] 23:31. This passage is omitted in later editions.
[2] 12:283 (2d edition). [3] De Wette, ii., 547. [4] *Op. Var. Arg.*, v., 221.

stance, he says that the mad popes and princes, who would compel to faith, assume what no man can do or ought to do, —invade a court which God has reserved for himself. But Luther himself would have the authorities advance against the open proclamation of religious error.[1] He called on his prince to deprive the Catholic clergy in his land and to let the income go to keep up the Protestant clergy, though provision should be made for the old infirm priests, if they were pious and not against the Gospel. It is also the duty of the Elector to see that the societies support their preachers, if the parochial endowments do not suffice.[2] The secular authority must see to it that dissension, faction, and tumult do not arise.[3] This would seem practically to amount to a toleration of the Lutherans and no one else. But Luther by no means at first shared Melanchthon's strict views as to the duty of the state to punish religious error as such, and it is still a question how far he ever really shared them. He says, let everyone believe as he will and preach as he will, and let the spirits rush at each other. It is too bad when such people are murdered. But the authorities should prove the spirits, for that is a bad spirit who reveals himself in breaking down churches and monasteries. If the errorists are actually disorderly then the authorities should interfere. "Luther will have the errorists and fanatics punished," says Hartwig, "only when they endanger public order" (p. 26), which is really the American principle. But Luther was far from separating Church and state as we do. The state must protect us so that we can serve God and thank him[4]; we have the various classes or estates so that we can learn to kill the flesh,[5] etc., and "we conclude that every prince is obliged to protect Christians and to see to the externally right worship of God, just as he is under obligation to protect

[1] Köstlin, *Martin Luther: sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 5th Aufl., 1:584 (1903).

[2] De Wette, iii., 15 (1525).

[3] 23:1 ff. (Instructions to the Visitors, especially p. 9).

[4] 17:193 (1533). [5] 21:240.

right preachers and teachers, according to Psalm 82:4, II Kings 9:7, Matthew 10:42, and as, according to Leviticus 24:16, he must ward off blasphemy. Princes are under obligations to plant and to keep in their territories the right teaching."[1] All public violence and vice and all idolatry and blasphemy must be suppressed by the prince.[2] The state was not simply a *Kulturstaat.* It had religious tasks as well.[3]

There was a change in Luther in this matter of the right of the state to interfere in religion. As I have said, the separation of the Church and State and the independent right of the latter were fundamental with him.[4] But its right was chiefly in secular things. When John Frederick of Saxony in 1524 asked Luther to institute Visitors in Thuringia to test preachers and fanatics and to put down incapable pastors with the help of the authorities, Luther refused, because he looked upon it as a stepping over of worldly power into spiritual concerns.[5] Nor did he take any stock in the synod Hausmann wanted his prince to call that same year to "bring about unity of ceremonies," and for the same reason. It was an invasion of the independent right of the congregations.[6] Two things broke down Luther's hesitation here: first, the Peasants' War, and second, the unjust seizure of Church goods and lands by private nobles and others, in which seizure the papal knights exceeded the Lutherans. So Luther came to ascribe to the "chief head" both the right and duty of ordering Church matters "after the papal power of the land had lapsed."[7] But this right was not an inherent one in the strict sense, but rather one growing out of historical conditions. The princes "should be asked out of love and for God's sake to take this matter

[1] 67:271. [2] 67:274. See also 45:413.

[3] See Hartwig's correction of Ward (whose book he highly commends, however) in his long review in *Theol. Litteraturblatt,* 1899, 111.

[4] 53:296 (1525); 55:141–2 (1536).

[5] Enders, iv., 356–7.

[6] De Wette, ii., 563; vi., 54 (Nov. 17, 1524). [7] 53:387 (1526).

in hand." At the bottom it was the right of the empire in Diet assembled to arrange these things, saving the forcing of conscience. But as the Diet was not unanimous, it had left ecclesiastical causes to each territory. When pastors therefore wrote Luther of the great need, he urged the Elector to come to the spiritual help of his land. He must see to it that the preachers are supported, and that the youth are educated and piously educated.[1]

Suppose a quiet, loyal, handful of Methodists had lived in Wittenberg in Luther's time. Would he have tolerated them? Would he have advised the Elector to break up their meeting?

> He vindicated the rights of the individual [says Harnack] in the first instance for himself; freedom of conscience was for him a personal experience. But for him the free conscience was a conscience inwardly bound, and by individual right he understood the sacred duty of trusting courageously to God, and of rendering to one's neighbor the service of independent and unselfish love.[2]

But still it would be venturesome to conclude too much from these liberating spiritual principles. Probably Mejer-Friedmann are right when they say that all such expressions ("heresy cannot be warded off by force," "God's word is to be used against it") mean only that heresy trials as hitherto known were now a thing of the past; for under the Saxon Visitation Instructions of 1527 (printed 1528), drawn up in part by Luther, which were the pattern for so many other state-church ordinances, it was provided that all who would not accept the pure doctrine laid down by the visitors should be threatened as a police measure with banishment; it was that which took the place of a heresy

[1] De Wette, iii., 15 (1526); Erlangen ed., 53:324, 331, 337 (1525), 387 (1526). See Hartwig, 23–25.

[2] *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., vii., 186.

trial,—otherwise, there was no more tolerance on the part of the Protestant, than on that of the Catholic, side.[1]

The matter might be traced in this way. First, there were the great ideas of soul liberty which we have quoted from Luther. But the congregation has rights. The procedure here is laid down by Christ (Matthew 18:16, 17). Heresy becomes a matter for pastoral care and instruction. In case the heretic finally hardens himself then he must be excluded from the Church. This was the course recommended in Luther's German Mass of 1526, as it was also in Lambert's Hessian Church Order. Heresy trials belong to the department of Practical Theology, and therewith Luther made a clean sweep of the mediæval method. Not every small thing should be called heresy. "Error does not make heretics," says Luther, "but the defence and obstinacy of error."[2] Besides heresy is bound to come. There must be offenses (Matthew 18:7). If the time should ever come when there would be no blasphemous doctrine we would have to cease praying, Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come. Heresy has a place in God's plans. It shakes up the Church, makes it look around and go farther. It is a plague of the divine anger over the sins of the Church. It keeps the Church watchful. If it had not been for Cerinthus we would not have had John's Gospel. Why should you make the

[1] Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklopädie f. Prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, 3 Aufl., Art. Toleranz, xix., 827 (1907). Mejer-Friedmann give no reference but I suppose they refer to the passage in the preface by Luther (Erl. Ausg., 23:9 [1528]) in which he says that those who set themselves obstinately against these Instructions, who without good ground want to be peculiar (sonderlich), who are wild heads, who out of mere evil cannot endure anything that is equal and common to all, whose hearts and lives are changeable and wayward,—these we must let go from us as the chaff from the threshing floor; for though Your Electoral Grace is not commanded to teach and govern spiritually, yet you are under obligation as a worldly ruler to see to it that no dissension, mobs, and uproars take place among your subjects, just as the emperor Constantine demanded from the bishops at Nicaea, as he would allow no dissension such as Arius had brought about, but held them to united teaching and faith.

[2] *Op. Var. Arg.*, v., 296.

heretic a martyr? He is already condemned to all too bitter punishment. Who art thou that invadest God's prerogative? Christ has commanded the tares to grow with the wheat. Then remember that truth is hidden in heresy. "There has never been a heresy which did not also teach something of truth."[1] "I hold that the reason why heretics are burnt is that those who burn them fear that they cannot overcome them with the Scripture; just as the papists when they see that they cannot stand against the truth strangle the people and with death solve all arguments."[2] So they burn the martyrs at Antwerp, but we cannot do that because it is not Christian. We go to work with Word and Scripture, to vindicate the honor of the divine word.[3] Luther had three convictions. The first was the certainty that the Word of God alone would bring back heretics, with some exceptions perhaps, to the true faith. The second was that the Holy Spirit, is the interpreter who gives only *one* interpretation of Scripture, and who impresses that upon the hearts of believers as true. The third was that the interpretation may be found in the creeds, especially in the Apostles', in a brief convenient form.

The next step was a disillusionment in regard to some of these convictions. The heretics had the Word of God and their own interpretation of it, which they would not yield to better instruction. Nor did the Holy Spirit conquer their conception. So Luther's premises vanished. This was followed by the growing danger of the Anabaptists, which

[1] Walch, iii., 2294 (St. Louis edition, iii., 1553) *cf.* Erl. Ausg., 23:261. In this part of the essay I derive much help from W. Köhler (University of Giessen, now of Zürich), *Reformation und Ketzerprozess*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1901, 8 ff.

[2] Walch, xv., 1678 (St. Louis edition, xv., 1414).

[3] De Wette, ii., 359 (1523): "Thus far we do the work in quiet ways, but if they shall proceed thus [by force] we might also have recourse to the edict of the Cæsar; not indeed to burn (as they) or bind, or drive any by force (as this is not done by Christians), but to defend the glory of the Word by words and Scriptures [or writings, *scripturis*], and to correct more widely the monsters [*portenta*] of the Papists."

became a real danger in 1525 in the great peasants' uprising. So the question became one of the protection of the subjects from doctrines and from agitators which might lead to subversion of the state or public order. (I speak here from the point of view of those responsible for that order.) The right of interference was guaranteed by various codes of ancient and mediæval times which Reformation princes inherited as an essential element of their political consciousness, as modern England inherits the Magna Carta. Besides, the Kaiser, with the consent of the empire, issued his mandate against the Anabaptists in 1528–9, which ran in this ominous fashion:

> By our imperial fullness of power and right knowledge we ordain, set, make, declare, and will that all Anabaptists, men and women who have come to the age of understanding, shall be executed and deprived of their natural life by fire, sword, and the like, according to opportunity of the persons, and without previous inquisition of the spiritual judges.[1]

So we have the question of obedience to these laws. How will Luther's liberating principles come out now? Will they survive?

Happily for Luther's consistency, the Anabaptists appeared in a twofold aspect, as heretics, that is, deviating from the Church doctrine as laid down in creeds, and as rebels, that is, as not fulfilling their civil obligations. In the usual accusations three points under this head are mentioned, and they were of course sufficient to condemn them without having recourse to the first head. (1) They will not acknowledge the civil authority as such, as they think the administration of such an office is unchristian. (2) They disdain all oaths, and of course the oath of loyalty. (3) They attack the inviolability of marriage, inasmuch as they allow husband or wife to put away his or her spouse if the latter persists in holding the old church faith. (The rightfulness of these

[1] Walch, 16: 353.

charges, or the policy or justice of proceeding under them, is not now in question.) Of course Luther's course is now clear. If the Anabaptists will not obey the authorities, then the latter should step in with strictness, for the territory of law (*Recht*) has been invaded.[1] If it is only a matter of doctrinal opinion, then let Matthew 18:15–17 form the basis of procedure.

Unfortunately Luther did not stay here. He made another advance. He extended his principle already mentioned—ominously elastic principle!—that the authorities must protect Christianity ("they have the sword and rod in their hands to punish the evil and to protect the pious"). He found that his distinction between heretic and rebel was not sufficient to protect the congregations from the inroads of the Anabaptists. The duty of the authorities to protect the pious was now (about 1528 and after) expanded to protect religion. Luther came to feel that the acknowledgment of religion belonged to the public weal, the general peace, that it was (as he said) a civic right (*Stadtrecht*). *Das soll man halten oder sich trollen* (one should hold that or get out). Heresy thus became a public offense. But how was it a public offense? Luther did not formally class the Anabaptists as blasphemers. "I do not yet hold the fanatics as blasphemers, but rather as Turks or apostate Christians, whom the State has not to punish, especially in body, but if any do not recognize and obey the civil rulers, then"—that is another question.[2] But his view that Church and State formed one great Corpus Christianum, distinct in function and task, and yet in some respects mutually dependent and helpful, but utterly rejecting the mediæval conception of the subjection of the State to the Church, led him to the view that this united body has and must have its confession

[1] Enders, *Briefwechsel Luthers*, v., 118. The reference here is to some Nürnbergers who had denied everything except the existence of God, including the civil power, and who were now in prison (Feb. 4, 1525). See also Köhler, 19.

[2] Enders, v., 117 (No. 882, Feb. 4, 1525).

of faith—preferably the Apostles' Creed—and that *public teaching against that confession is blasphemy.*

> Where anyone teaches against a public article of faith which is clearly found in Scripture and believed in all the world, such articles as we teach the children in the Credo, for instance, that Christ is not God but a mere man like any other prophet, as the Turks and Anabaptists teach,—these people one shall not suffer, but punish them as public blasphemers. . . . Even so shall the authorities punish or not endure those who teach that Christ did not die for our sins, but that each one should do satisfaction himself for them. For that is also a public blasphemy against the Gospel and against the general article where we confess our faith, I believe in the forgiveness of sins, etc.[1]

In the same passage he says that if anyone teaches that no Christian should take public office, should not marry, should have all things in common, etc.,—such should be punished by the authorities. "Heretics by themselves," he says in another place, "heretics may believe what they will, but they must hold their mouth."[2] With natural and perhaps pardonable self-deception Luther tried to think still that he was consistent with his earlier views, for in the passage just quoted (39:250–1) he goes on to say that in the above recommendations for the punishment of heretics "no one is compelled to faith. Only the teaching and the blasphemy (*Lästern*) are forbidden. Let him (the heretic) go where there are no Christians and do the same. For he who would live with citizens should either hold the civil law and not harm or shame it, or get out of the land." But a toleration which would allow one to think but not to speak is not much of an improvement on mediæval liberty. Luther came to feel that no one should be allowed to teach the Gospel but those recognized by the authorities. He goes so far, therefore, to affirm that if such an unauthorized teacher "will not keep silent, let the authorities turn over the rascal to the

[1] Erl. ed., 39:250–1 (1530). [2] 54:97 (Aug. 26, 1529).

right master, to Master Hans (the executioner). That is certainly their right, rather than allowing an uproar or something worse among the people."[1] "For no preacher however pious and upright should allow himself to preach to a papist or heretic folk belonging to a regular pastor, or secretly teach, without that pastor's knowledge and will."[2] All preachers without regular authorization, even if they preach aright, are simply vagabonds and rascals, and must be referred to Master Hans.[3] Toleration is thus limited by the consent of the higher powers and by the generally held teachings of the Church. In his letter to Duke Albrecht of Prussia he says that those who reject the articles of faith as they have been hitherto believed by the Church in all ages, or who bring in a new article, such people are not to be suffered, for they burden conscience and mislead and damn souls.[4] He discriminates between such commonly received articles and Roman Catholic additions, and thus saves himself from Master Hans. But even under this portentous change of view Luther had no idea at first of the death penalty. In 1528 he thought that banishment was sufficient, and that death should be reserved for tumultuous heretics "who will not be quiet until they see Germany soaked with blood."[5] Some years later he gave his consent—easy is the descent into Avernus—for even the death penalty, and it was in this wise. Melanchthon had written a careful paper on the treatment of the Anabaptists for the benefit of his elector (in 1530), in which he recommends a graduated scale of punishments. Those who are disobedient to authority, are communists, refuse to take the oath, etc., can be put to death. Even for those who "hold that our (Lutheran) baptism and preachers are not Christian and that our Church is not a Christian one," these also may be punished by the "punishment of the codex" (death). For those, however, who have fallen into error through simplicity, who are not

[1] 39:255 (1530). [2] 39:254. [3] 43:313 (1532).
[4] 54:288–9 (probably April, 1532). [5] Enders, vi., 289 (June 14, 1528).

tumultuous, these may be banished or punished with other milder punishments in order to bring them to betterment, and according to circumstances these punishments may be made sharper or milder. To this deliberate program of persecution Luther set his *placet* in these words: "Though it looks cruel to punish them (the Anabaptists) with the sword, yet it is more cruel that they condemned the ministry of the word and teach no certain doctrine, and suppress the right doctrine, and thus destroy the kingdoms of the world."[1]

By clear implication this encourages death, if necessary, for religious error.

In a decision signed by Luther, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and Melanchthon, in answer to a request from Philip of Hesse, who as a broad-minded layman was not as much inclined to persecute as the theologians, they held (1536) that it was "very easy to judge where the Anabaptist articles have to do with worldly rule, for there is no doubt that in such a case the obstinate should be punished as turbulent, and if circumstance favor even with the sword. Where the articles have to do with spiritual things only and are false, we conclude that in this case the obstinate may also be killed." In this celebrated paper Luther flatly places all serious doctrinal error and erroneous worship on the same platform as perjury and blasphemy, and—referring to Leviticus 24:11–16—calls for its possible punishment by the sword. He includes even the denial of infant baptism, as such denial would lead to public heathenism! Those also who on the ground of the impurity of the Church separate from her and meet in their own assemblies, shall be punished by death if necessary. But careful discrimination should be made, and the simple brought back if possible. Here Luther forsakes utterly his old standpoint, and goes out with fire and sword against religious error. The letter of 1536 might almost be called the Lutheran apotheosis of persecution.[2]

[1] *Corpus Ref.*, iv., 740 (1530).

[2] See this paper in Walch, 20:2182 ff., and in *Zeits. f. Hist. Theol.*, 1858, 560–65.

That was the Great Surrender! The Church is now not simply the fellowship of believers but a legal institution, protected by the state, hedged about with the creeds; the mother of souls, but also the protectress of pure doctrine. Hence after 1533 ministers had to be first obligated to the Apostles' Creed, then to the Nicene, the Athanasian, and the Augsburg. This reacted to exalt the teachers of the Word as the defenders of the faith in Luther's eyes. The pastor became exalted over the congregation. In 1530 Luther writes to Justus Menius that in his book against the Anabaptists he should more strongly bring home to them that they have no regularly called preachers. "For that is a plain sign that they are the servants of the devil."[1] In the Church itself the only punishment for heresy is still only exclusion, according to Matthew 18:15. But that meant more then than it does now. In the Church ordinances of the time we read of decrees forbidding the ringing of the church bells and honorable burial of the "heretics," and then finally of open anathema. But Luther's progress was not only intensive as to punishment but also extensive as to victims. It was now not only the poor Baptists, but also even Zwingli "and other sets and sects."[2]

The inner connection between faith and tradition [says W. Köhler] in which faith was the ruling *prius*, and in the tradition found an expression of itself, was separated, so that the traditional confession took the first place and demanded not so much personal faith as legal acknowledgment. And what before the divine Word had to do, that is conquer the heretics by virtue of itself, had to be done now by the Creed, but no longer by the

[1] De Wette, iii., 570.

[2] See Köhler, 24–29. Luther subscribed the paper which made the authorities the protector of the first table of the law as well as the second (*Corp. Ref.*, iii., 225). Kawerau explains (*Theol. Lit.-Zeit.*, 1902, 107–9) this latter attitude of Luther by the consideration that the Anabaptists were looked upon as underminers of all state order. But Luther's scythe cut a much wider swathe. He came to believe in the forcible suppression of heresy as such.

Creed itself, but supported both by the secular and by the spiritual authorities. Not simply the Confession did this but the churchly interpreted confession,—and so came the increased emphasis on the ministerial office. In this way the strain upon the *one* interpretation of Scripture was released, so that the Creed, *as the Church conceived it*, became the norm of interpretation. Still it was of no advantage to the Baptists that in their Schlatten Articles (1527) they built upon the Apostles' Creed![1]

Nevertheless the use of force was a "strange work" with Luther. In his letter to Beier in Zwickau in 1533 he says:

Those who despise all piety, do not come to meeting, we are accustomed at first to frighten by the authority and name of our illustrious prince, and to threaten with exile and punishment, as against blasphemers. Then, if they do not have a care, we give commandment to the ministers (*parochis*) to instruct them for a whole month or more, to teach them, to reprove them; nevertheless, if they are hardened, they are to be excluded from society (*coetu*), and to be avoided as heathen. The passage is clear concerning excommunication in Scripture. Nevertheless if they are not restored by common remedies, you can write again on this matter.[2]

I am very slow [he says again] in a judgment of blood, even where there is abundant cause. For in this matter the consequences of the example terrify me, which we see among the papists and before Christ among the Jews; where, when the law provided that false prophets and heretics ought to be slain, it happened in the process of time that only the holiest prophets and innocents were killed, by the authority of that same law, by which impious magistrates made false prophets and heretics of whomsoever they wished. I fear the same thing may happen among us if once it could be proved by a single example [in the Bible] that seducers should be slain, when we see that hitherto among the papists by the abuse of this law innocent blood has been poured out instead of the guilty. Wherefore it cannot at all be admitted that false teachers should be slain; it is sufficient

[1] *Lib. cit.*, 32–33.

[2] Enders, ix., 365 (No. 2135).

that they be banished. If posterity desires to abuse this punishment, they will nevertheless sin more mildly and hurt only themselves.[1] Yes, dear God, how soon has it happened that one errs and falls into the snare of the devil. One should defend and oppose with Scripture and God's Word, with fire one can do but little.[2]

It is to the credit of the Lutheran theologians that in the carrying out of the imperial mandate against the Anabaptists they urged mildness and instruction, and Hermelink does well to refer to contemporary feeling on penal matters, in which the theory of warning or deterring was in fearful vogue. It was a time when poachers lost their eyes, counterfeiters their lives, and which demanded a penalty hardly less for the falsification of the common faith.[3]

These factors must also be remembered as historically explaining Luther's course. (1) The tremendous influence of the Old Testament. Though at times Luther got a glimpse of the preparatory character of the Old Testament, it is undeniable that its influence was weighty in this and other matters. (2) His inability to conceive two opposing "preachings" or congregations in the same town without danger to the social order. Anabaptist tragedies perhaps disrupted in this respect the serene faith of the Reformer. They made it impossible for him to think of the quiet coexistence of opposing confessions. "Worldly authority," he says, "should not permit disunion or division among the people brought about by contrary preachers, from which state of things uproar and riots might be feared, but in one place only one kind of preaching should be permitted."[4] He carried this so far as to say that even for his own faith its preachers must be silent where they are not wished. If this cannot be done, "then let the authorities hear the cause

[1] Enders, vi., 299 (July 14, 1528).

[2] Erl. ed., 26:256 (1528).

[3] *Der Toleranzgedanke im Reformationszeitalter*, Leipzig, 1908, 53 (Schr. d. Ver. f. Ref. Gesch., 96).

[4] 53:368; De Wette, iii., 89 (Feb. 9, 1526).

(*i. e.*, weigh both sides), and whichever side does not agree with the Scripture must be commanded to be silent. For it is not good that a parish should allow contrary preaching among the people; for from that spring riots, dissatisfaction, hatred, envy, and even in worldly matters."[1] (3) His belief in a ministry that was both educated and authorized. To his mind a *Winkelprediger*, an unlicensed preacher, was what a hedge-lawyer or a quack doctor is to ours, both contemptible in himself and a menace to public health and decency. (4) The practice in the German states in the closing fifteenth century for the princes to look often after ecclesiastical affairs. And (5) the dread lest what had been gained for the Gospel would be lost in the confusion of conflicting sects and factions, and the papal power come in again as the only hope of unity and peace.

But the question remains: What if there had been no Peasants' War? What if there had been no Jan of Leyden? no Thomas Münzer? What if all the Anabaptists had been the quiet inoffensive folk some of them were? Would this fateful evolution have taken place in Luther? Would not his earlier principles have asserted themselves with living fruitfulness all the way through? So we trust and hope. For the earlier Luther was the greater and the nobler. Or, I should say, the Luther of the joyful trust in the Gospel was greater than the Luther who turned to the magistrate as the hammer of heretics, for the sentiments of that joyful trust are not confined to his earlier writings. There were rather two Luthers in one. For to the last he held that "no one should be compelled to faith," that in the Church itself only the method of Matthew 18:15 holds, and that when the state interferes to punish heretics it does so not on account of the Church, nor on account of the soul of the heretic or of others, but on account of the good of the state itself, as the protectress of her public life. The state is not the executive of the Church, nor is she to be prompted by the Church,—she

[1] 39: 252 (1530).

acts in her own right. In this teaching Luther parted finally from the mediæval world-view, and ushered in the modern era.

NOTE. In a brief historical note in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, January, 1897, 99–102, the late Rev. Dr. Dunlop Moore, of Pittsburgh, calls attention to the intolerant word of Luther concerning the Jews in his *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* (1542, Walch edition, xx., 2476 ff.). It is fair to say, however, that Luther had understood that the Jews were trying to entice Christians to come over to them, that they were indulging in blasphemies and wild hate (including the curse-prayer in their synagogues), and that they were exploiting the Christians by usury. They should be expelled from the country, but this should be done by the authorities, and individual Christians should not harm them. In his Rector's address for 1907, Professor Loofs (*Luthers Stellung zum Mittelalter und zur Neuzeit*, Halle, 1907, 17–19) acknowledges that Luther did not keep true to his early principles in the matter of toleration, but claims that we cannot for that reason immediately class him, as Tröltsch does, with mediæval men: "Did we not have the compulsory baptism law till 1874? Is not blasphemy still punishable among us? And have we not to-day a Christianly-colored *Autoritätskultur* with its obligatory instruction in religion? Our time is not as much opposed to the thoughts of Luther as Tröltsch supposes." Walther of Rostock, in his able and on the whole fair defense of Luther (*Für Luther wider Rom. Handbuch der Apologetik Luthers und der Reformation den römischen Anklagen gegenüber*, Halle, 1906, pp. xv, 759), gives a long discussion of Luther's attitude to toleration (pp. 245–417). Walther admits (p. 315) that Luther conceded that heretics who were not a menace to the public peace *might* be put to death. Professor H. Boehmer, of Bonn, now of Marburg, in his most admirable study of Luther, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, Leipzig, 1906, second edition, 1909, while acknowledging that Luther fully changed his standpoint, thinks (p. 167, second edition) that his sharp utterances cannot be taken earnestly. I cannot agree with Boehmer here. While there were times when Luther spoke half-jokingly, or in an overwrought condition, this was not one of them. In the sermon of February 7, 1546, referred to by Boehmer, he seems to be speaking only of the

attitude of *preachers* (not the authorities) to the driving out of heretics, Jews, etc. Hunzinger (*Die Theologie der Gegenwart*, iii., 3, 48, 1909) goes further than Boehmer in the same direction, as does Otto Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*, i., 1908; but the documents quoted above yield rather stubborn results for this idealistic view. W. Köhler (see above) is more objective. "Certainly," he says, "Luther would have approved the execution of Servetus. Even according to him, heresy as heresy deserved death" (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1906, 211). The student can refer also to another Protestant historian, Wappler, *Inquisition und Ketzerprozesse in Zwickau zur Reformationszeit dargestellt im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung der Ansichten Luthers und Melanchthons uber Glaubens- und Gewissensfreiheit*, Leipzig, 1908, and his *Die Stellung Kursachsens und des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen zur Täuferbewegung*, Munster i. W., 1910,— both important. On the Catholic side see the great books of Denifle and (better) Grisar on Luther (see index under words Gewissensfreiheit, Intoleranz, Toleranz, etc.), and especially the thorough investigation of Paulus, *Protestantismus und Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg i. Br., 1911, 374 pp. (pages 1–61 are devoted to Luther). See also (Protestant) Köstlin-Kawerau, *Luther*, 5. Aufl., 1903, index under Ketzerverfolgang, Toleranz; Köstlin, *Luthers Theologie*, 2. Aufl., 1901, i, 342–4, ii, 322–3; Walther in *Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, 1901, 595–7; Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, 1892, pp. 542 ff.; Friedberg, *Kirchenrecht*, 5. Aufl., 1903, see index under Toleranz; Völker, Karl, *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Leipzig, 1912. This last is perhaps the best discussion of the subject we have. Its conclusions confirm those of this paper. Paul Drews, *Entsprach das Staatskirchentum dem Ideale Luthers?* Tübingen, 1908 (answered in the negative; on pp. 99–102 gives admirable statement of attitude to toleration). I have also read Poincenot, *Les Idées de Luther sur la Répression de l'Hérésie*, Montbéliard, 1901, and Ruffini's *History of Liberty*, London and New York, 1912, first published in Italian in 1901 (see *Theol. Jahrsber.*, 1901, 62), both of whom arrive at the same results as those above. There is a fresh and very suggestive treatment of toleration (including Luther's attitude, pp. 720–723) by George Lincoln Burr, *Anent the Middle Ages* (*American Historical Review*, vol. 18, July 1913, 710–726).

The College of Cardinals and the Veto

By

Henry Bradford Washburn

THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS AND THE VETO

By Henry Bradford Washburn, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge

(*Read December 30, 1913*)

AT the end of an article on State Interference in Papal Elections[1] Herbert Thurston has expressed the hope that there might be a "new Papal Constitution affirming in explicit terms the absolute independence of conclaves" from the form of secular interference known as the Veto or Right of Exclusion. The article was written after the elevation of Pius X, but before the publication of the Constitution *Commissum Nobis*. The latter was issued on January 20, 1904, and meets with gratifying precision the wishes of Father Thurston.

The Constitution *Commissum Nobis* is a brief document, devoted entirely to the Veto. Its important paragraphs read as follows:

> The aforesaid civil Veto . . . by which the effort is made to prevent the advancement of a certain person to the supreme pontificate, is in opposition to (this) perfect freedom in electing to the Supreme Pontificate. Although it has occurred several times it has never been sanctioned by the Apostolic Chair. On the contrary, the Roman Pontiffs who have issued constitutions in regard to the things pertaining to the holding of a conclave have attempted nothing with more effort and zeal than the prohibition of interference of any external power whatsoever

[1] *The Month*, October, 1903.

in a sacred Congregation of the Cardinals summoned to elect a Pope. The following Constitutions state the case clearly. *In eligendis* of Pius IV; *Æterni Patris* of Gregory XV; *Apostolatus officium* of Clement XII; especially *In hac sublimi*, *Licet per Apostolicas*, and *Consulturi* of Pius IX. Furthermore, since experience has taught that utterances intended to prevent the civil Veto or Exclusion have not coincided thus with the prayers, and because recent changes have made the interference of the civil power all the more destitute of reason and equity, therefore, We, by virtue of the Apostolic gift committed unto us, walking in the footsteps of Our predecessors, having given the matter due thought, with certain knowledge, and of Our own impulse, wholly condemn the civil Veto, or Exclusion, as it is called, even in the form of expressed desire, likewise every kind of intervention and every intercession of any nature, expressly declaring that it is unlawful for any one, especially for the supreme governors of states, to interpose or interfere, on any pretext whatsoever, in the weighty business of electing a Roman Pontiff.[1]

The Constitution is a reminiscence, as those who followed the details of the conclave of 1903 know, of circumstances which possibly led to the defeat of Cardinal Rampolla and to the election of Pius X. A few days before the opening of the conclave the Cardinal-Bishop of Cracow had arrived at Rome evidently in possession of disagreeable news, and charged with a commission that would allow him no peace. To those who perceived his state of mind he confided that he was instructed to give the Exclusion to a certain candidate. He tried in vain to persuade others to publish his message. The secretary of the conclave answered that he could not; the cardinal-dean that he would not. Finally he went to Cardinal Rampolla himself, who told him to act as his conscience directed. And then at the beginning of the scrutiny, while the cardinals were writing their ballots, the Cardinal-Bishop of Cracow asked permission to speak, and expressed himself literally as follows:

[1] Translated from the Latin text, which is reprinted in *Die geltenden Papstwahlgesetze*, ed. Giese, p. 36.

I have the honor, having been summoned to the duty by an order from the highest source, to beg of your eminence, in his capacity as Dean of the Sacred College and Chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church, that he will take due notice and that he will announce and declare in the most official manner, in the name and by the authority, of his Apostolic Majesty, Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, who desires to take advantage of an ancient right and privilege, the veto of Exclusion against my most eminent Lord and Cardinal Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro.

Upon hearing the announcement the cardinal-dean said that the conclave would not receive the communication. Cardinal Rampolla arose and said:

I regret that a lay power has caused a serious infringement of the liberty of the Church and of the dignity of the sacred college in the election of a pope, and I therefore protest most earnestly. As for myself, I assert that nothing more honorable, nothing of more fortunate character, could happen to me.[1]

One who witnessed the incident[2] reports that the interference of Austria was looked upon as an offensive anachronism and that Austria not only had to see the final election of a pope from hated Venice but that its Veto was of no effect. In regard to the latter point, as the election proceeded Rampolla's vote at once increased, as if in defiance of Austria, but by one vote only. Rampolla was not elected, possibly because he never would have been, possibly because of the Veto.

Pius X, therefore, was indulging in reminiscence when he published the Constitution *Commissum Nobis*. He was also protesting against the recurrence of even an inoperative Veto. He was declaring that, whatever the custom had been, states should take neither direct nor indirect part in future elections. He was also playing the rôle of prophet.

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. xx, 1904, p. 280.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 280 *sq.*

He was forecasting the day when the College of Cardinals would realize the ambition of centuries that the Church should be utterly free from the State.

In taking this attitude, however, was not Pius making a new departure? And in its apparent contempt of the Veto was not the conclave of 1903 opening another chapter of policy? If the Veto was actually repudiated in 1903 was it not for the first time?

The Veto was either threatened or exercised in practically every conclave of the nineteenth century excepting those of Pius IX and Leo XIII. It is said on reliable authority that the Veto would have been given Pius IX had not the election taken place so speedily that the Austrian crown cardinal, armed with an Exclusion, had not time to arrive before the ballot. It is also said that fear of a Veto was the cause of the unusual haste. However this may be, a change had come over the electors between the time when, in 1830, Giustiniani had been excluded by Spain and when Rampolla was excluded in 1903 by Austria. For in Giustiniani's case there was an apparent recognition of the Spanish right of interference. As the Exclusion is one of the most dramatic in history, a repetition of its details may not be amiss. They are given by Cardinal Wiseman, who was a student in Rome at the time.

On the 7th of January (1830) Cardinal Giustiniani received twenty-one votes, the number sufficient for election being twenty-nine, when Cardinal Marco, Spanish envoy delicately intimated, first to Giustiniani's nephew, Odescalchi, then to the Dean Pacca, that Spain objected to that nomination. Every one was amazed. Giustiniani had been nuncio in Spain; and the ground for his exclusion was supposed to be his participation in Leo XII's appointment of bishops in South America. . . . Every one in that conclave, however, bore witness to the admirable conduct of that excellent and noble prince on that occasion. I have heard Cardinal Weld, and his secretary in conclave, Bishop Riddell, describe how wretched and pining he looked while the

prospect of the papacy hung before him, for he was scrupulous and tender of conscience to excess; and how he brightened up and looked himself again, the moment the vision had passed away. Indeed, no sooner had the note of the Spanish lay ambassador, Labrador, been read in his presence by the Dean, than Cardinal Giustiniani arose, and standing in the middle of the chapel, addressed his colleagues. . . . With an unfaltering voice, and a natural tone, unagitated by his trying position, the Cardinal said: "If I did not know courts by experience, I should certainly have cause to be surprised at the 'exclusion' published by the most eminent Dean; since far from being able to reproach myself with having given cause of complaint against me to his Catholic Majesty during my nunciature, I dare congratulate myself with having rendered his Majesty signal service in the difficult circumstances wherein he was placed." He then referred to some proofs of acknowledgment of this fidelity from the Spanish Crown and continued: "I will always cherish these kindnesses shown me by his Catholic Majesty, and will entertain toward him the most profound respect, and in addition a most lively interest for all that can regard his welfare, and that of his august family. I will further add, that, of all the benefits conferred on me by his Majesty, I consider the greatest and most acceptable to me (at least in its effects) to be his having this day closed for me the access to the most sublime dignity of the Pontificate. Knowing as I do my great weakness, I could not bring myself to foresee that I should ever have to take on myself so heavy a burden; yet these few days back, on seeing that I was thought of for this purpose, my mind has been filled with the bitterest sorrow. To-day I find myself free from all anxiety, I am restored to tranquillity, and I retain only the gratification of knowing that some of my most worthy colleagues have deigned to cast a look on me, and have honored me with their votes, for which I beg to offer them my eternal and sincerest gratitude."[1]

Of even more interest than Giustiniani's words are the results of the Spanish Exclusion. On the two following scrutinies Giustiniani received respectively ten and two ballots. And of even more interest than the immediate

[1] Wiseman, *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, pp. 264 *sq.*

effect of the Exclusion is the fact that Wiseman assumes that Spain was justified in its conduct and that the Roman Catholic scholar, Herbert Thurston, gives to Wiseman unquestioned assent.[1] In other words, the spirit that prevailed in the conclave of 1830 was of a radically different kind from that in the conclave of 1903. Both from conduct and from papal Constitution the conclave of 1903 may mark an epoch in the history of the College of Cardinals.

Inasmuch as the procedure of 1830 is typical of the conclaves of the nineteenth century, wherein the Exclusion was given, and of most of those of the eighteenth century, to discover the moment of another significant change we are thrust back into the early days of the eighteenth century. Ludwig Wahrmund, one of the leading canon lawyers of Romanism, and one of the three or four scholars who have given special attention to the history of the conclave, published in 1912 the diary of Cardinal Francesco Barberini.[2] Barberini was a member of the electing college of 1721. His diary gives a detailed account of the exclusion of Cardinal Paolucci and of the election of Innocent XIII. Whereas the method of election preceding the pontificate of Innocent XIII was different from that of the conclave in which he himself was chosen pope, events within the latter are naturally of importance. They mark the close of a transition period—a period in which the Exclusion changed from an informal privilege to a formal right. The conduct of the Imperial Cardinal Althann reveals signs of distinct novelty.

In brief the account of Barberini is as follows: When Althann saw that Paolucci had received within a few votes of the necessary two-thirds, he rose from his seat and passed from one cardinal to another telling them that his Majesty the Emperor would never consent to the election of Paolucci. Althann's announcement was evidently a surprise and dis-

[1] *The Month*, October, 1903.

[2] Die kaiserliche Exclusive im Konklave Innozenz XIII, *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 170, B. 5.

appointment to the cardinals, especially as the ballots were being collected. Paolucci displayed remarkable patience and self-control; he said that he did not deserve the high office, nor did he either hope for it or aspire to it, but that he was ignorant of any injury that he might have done his Majesty the Emperor in return for which he should suffer such mortification. On the following day, Cardinal Althann went to the heads of orders and to the chamberlain, and told them that the Emperor explicitly and formally excluded Cardinal Paolucci, and he besought them that they would spread the news among the other cardinals lest any should cast their votes for Paolucci and compel him publicly and openly and in the middle of the chapel to proclaim the Exclusion. Again, when shortly afterwards Paolucci received four votes, Althann reminded the voters of the Imperial Exclusion. Later, while he was acting as a scrutator and saw that Paolucci was still lacking three or four of the necessary number, and before the full number was taken from the boxes and counted, Althann stood in the middle of the chapel and said that the votes were not to be given to Paolucci. For some time the Paolucci party protested by casting blank ballots. The cardinals as a whole considered the conduct of Althann *inexpectata et insolita*. Emotionally, it caused them the greatest grief. One of them, Rohan, insisted that it was *ultra vires*, because it violated the liberty of the Sacred College and limited the freedom of election. Thus far Barberini.

Nevertheless, Paolucci was not elected,—a fact which correctly interprets the mind of the college. The cardinals *de facto* (whatever their *de jure* opinion may have been) yielded to the Emperor. Wahrmund, supporting with the information contained in the Barberini Diary his early theory that the conclave of 1721 marked the first appearance of the formal Veto, is convinced that the eighteenth and nineteenth century types of Exclusion find their first instance in that of 1721. Other scholars disagree with him,

thinking that the conclaves at the end of the seventeenth century are the turning point. But none of them wrote in the light of the detailed information contained in Wahrmund's discovery. Heretofore states had informed the college that certain candidates were unacceptable. It remained for Althann, not only to do it in a very public manner and to reiterate the protest, but to stand in the middle of the chapel and insist upon its passage. Of even greater significance for this conclave as a departure from custom is the interference of Althann during the counting of the votes, an act, which, as his own diary says, brought the session to an end and made the cardinals leave the chapel in apparent disgust with the inevitable.[1]

When one pushes back into the seventeenth century one meets with another kind of royal interference and also with a most significant controversy as to its legality. Possibly the conduct of the kings of Spain and of Louis XIV will illustrate its character with sufficient clearness.

It must be remembered that during the first half of the seventeenth century the conclave policy was largely directed by nepotistic factions. The recent pope would have elevated cardinals who in many cases were not only relatives but men of his own point of view. These devotees, therefore, were likely to form a solid phalanx in the coming election. They were also inclined to bargain with the jealous states. Innocent XII's Bull of 1693, *Romanum decet Pontificem*, seems to have put an end to such a contingency. His example as well as his legislation made for its abandonment. It must also be recalled that the Thirty Years' War was raging until the middle of the century, and that the states looked upon the papal alliance or sympathy as a powerful ally.

The conclaves of 1644 and 1655 are typical of the changing mood of the times. The first was governed entirely by

[1] Wahrmund in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften*, 170, B. 5, p. 12, n. 1.

the nepotists in league with princes; the second by the alliance of cardinals and princes apart from nepotism. In both Spain was pitted against France; in both France finally yielded. It is impossible to decide in which conclave the interference of the state was the more conspicuous.

In the conclave of 1644 one of the cardinal-nephews, Francesco Barberini, had two candidates in reserve, so that in case of the exclusion of either his interests might prevail. The first, Sacchetti, was a strong favorite of the French King; the second, Pamphili, was equally supported by Spain. Spain stood firm that Sacchetti should not be elected, and in spite of the continued support of his adherents, it would not yield. France, however, was less stubborn, and on the announcement that the French objection to Pamphili had been withdrawn, the latter was elected as Innocent X. It is said by some that Barberini lied in declaring the assent of France; others say that the French Ambassador was bought. In any case we have a remarkable example of diplomacy in which the states seem to have exercised a determining power. We have also, as Lucius Lector has said, an opportunity to call upon the preventive legislation of Gregory XV if that legislation was intended to deny any right to princes. The conclave is also noteworthy in that it recognized the nation's right to interfere in the case of one candidate only, a precedent which has been strictly observed by the nations since that day.

In the conclave of 1655 the effort to suppress nepotism had been partially successful. But nothing had been done to restrain the states. Again Sacchetti was put forward as the candidate of the French party. But Spain resisted not only on the ground of his being *persona non grata*, but on the already well-established precedent that *semel exclusus* entailed *semper exclusus*, the double exclusion of Baronius having fixed the unwritten law.[1] The justification of the

[1] This principle again has been accepted from that time to this by cardinals and kings.

custom was not accomplished without difficulty, for the intransigeant party or flying squadron, as they were called, cast thirty-three votes twice daily for two months for Sacchetti, and all the other ballots bore the word "Nemini." The deadlock became so hopeless that it gave rise to another name for Sacchetti, Cardinal Thirty-Three, and to the somewhat grimly humorous suggestion that the papal tiara would be offered to "Nemini." The episode was brought to an end by the Spanish Ambassador, who gave the public Exclusion through the window. Again France was known to object to the second candidate, Chigi, and again a withdrawal of its virtual Exclusion was obtained.

The salient features of these conclaves are, therefore, nepotism as a factor in election, an alliance between parties within the conclave and those without, a waning influence of the nepotists and a waxing power of conclave factions in association with the princes. The radical difference between these and the conclave of 1721 lies in the exclusion being assumed as a working policy from the beginning of the election rather than in its public announcement by a member of the conclave during the process of voting; again, in its being publicly pronounced by a lay ambassador instead of by an empowered cardinal.

A most significant pamphlet war took place at this time, which, to the mind of Wahrmund,[1] throws light upon the contemporary opinion in regard to secular interference in papal elections. The problem raised by the first candidacy of Sacchetti was its occasion. The confessor of the college, Valentini, was asked if the conclave might resist the veto imposed by so powerful a state as Spain and was told that it could not. Immediately Cardinal Albizzi published a treatise in which he attacked the right of states to interfere except in a manner of friendly advice. Not wishing to stand alone, Albizzi, a supporter of Valentini, appealed to the scholarly Cardinal Lugo, expecting that in union they might

[1] Wahrmund, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Exclusionsrechtes*, 1890.

achieve the freedom of the college. Much to his surprise, however, Lugo appeared as the doughty defender of the opposition. He said that the object of election should always be kept in mind; that the elevation of Sacchetti, a confederate of Mazarin, would not minister to the peace and unity of the Church. He acknowledged that there was no canonical warrant for the interference of the state in election; neither was there any canonical reason why the state should not advise and warn. The interests of the state were involved in an election of a pope, therefore the will of the state should be a factor in the final appointment.

These two documents were merely the first of many. They reveal the sensitiveness of the cardinals to the possible dangers of the situation; they also bring out in clear relief the cardinals' consciousness that an election of a pope was of international political significance. As Lector reminds us, however, not one of the pamphleteers dreamed that he was discussing the merits of a formal Exclusion. Technically speaking, there was no formal Exclusion at the time, as the withdrawals of Louis XIV indicate, and as his definite declaration that he had no power to exclude anyone affirms. The states of a later time acted as if they had an indisputable and final right. They do not discuss the problem; they do not present their reasons. Their representatives pronounce the Veto, and there the prospects of a certain candidate end.

During the middle of the seventeenth century, within the experience of the two conclaves considered and within the doctrines of the pamphleteers, two states have been of particular prominence: France and Spain. It would be fruitless to ask why these states and Austria alone have claimed the right of interference in modern times and have been allowed it. It is comparatively easy to see why England neither asks for nor is given the privilege. It is not so clear that Portugal and Naples should be excluded from positive action. There has been an attempt to prove that Portugal had the right during the first half of the eighteenth century,

and the motive is correct, for Portugal was then a world influence, as its initiative in the controversy over the Jesuits abundantly proves. But Ferdinand of Naples confessed that his throne had no right whatever. He told his cardinal in the conclave of 1823 that France, Spain, and Austria alone had the right of *esclusiva espressa*, but that he must, among his friends and adherents, make vigorous use of the *esclusiva tacita*. Being ignorant of the reason we must be content with the fact that they alone are possessed of the right.

The title, however, may lie in the double character of these states as heirs of the genius of empire, and therefore of the Emperor's prerogative, and as politico-catholic powers in modern times.

State interference in certain of the papal elections of the sixteenth century bears the mark of imperial concern, and the attitude of the cardinals is an eloquent recognition of the relationship.

Although the empire had largely disintegrated in the days of Philip II there can be little question that Philip himself represented both the Imperial or Hapsburg influence and that of the Church. His despotic conduct toward popes and cardinals as well as his similar association with the states of Europe reveals the intimate connection. Singularly, however, his interference takes the form of Inclusion rather than of Exclusion—a kind of pressure not uncommon to this and a later time, and not unacceptable to the cardinals. The cardinals of the conclave of 1559 deliberately asked the will of France and Spain. France replied that it wanted Gonzaga of Mantua. Philip II replied in another vein:

> If Carpi does not suit d'Este, and if Gonzaga and Puteo do not satisfy Farnese, that is no reason for thinking them unworthy. If Tournon is French and Pacheco Spanish, is that sufficient ground upon which the Italians should reject them? Is not the Catholic Church œcumenical? If Morone has committed a few sins, why has he been absolved? If Cesi is a likely person, should his relatives militate against his chances?

Philip had his way. The cardinal favored by France was not elected. Furthermore his somewhat sarcastic response to the cardinals suggests his mastery of the situation.

Philip's relation to the conclave of 1559 is typical of his conduct and that of the cardinals throughout his reign. Although he was not invariably successful, as for example in the election of Urban VIII, he generally prevailed. He presented a list of three to the college of 1572; his ambassador had the final word in that of 1585; he presented another list of seven to the college of 1591, thereby excluding about fifty cardinals. In brief,[1] he had the actual appointment of six popes, and, although there is no instance of an Exclusion in the latter sense of the word, there is a determining influence formed of his personal power coupled with that of his party within the college. His hold on the cardinals is seen in the fact that forty of the members of the conclave of 1605 were dependent upon Spanish bounty.

The thirteen-year pontificate of Clement VIII gave an opportunity to review the situation. It even forced Philip to appoint a commission to report upon it. Upon its failure to act before his death his son appointed another commission which came to the conclusion that the King of Spain might legitimately exercise an influence upon the election of a pope in order that his own interests might be safeguarded; that he might have recourse to either the Inclusion or Exclusion to prevent an unworthy man from ascending the papal throne; that he is permitted to dispense his favors to this very end, provided he does not form any contract that would limit the electoral freedom of his beneficiaries. Nothing could indicate more clearly the composition of the commission. It was Spanish. Nothing could make more apparent the need of a complete revision of the rules governing papal elections. And this was attempted by Gregory XV who ascended the papal chair in 1621. His rules, whether rightly or wrongly interpreted, are dominant at the present day.

[1] Lucius Lector, *Le Conclave*, p. 535.

They found their occasion and their cause in the close interrelationship of Spain and the Papacy during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Philip, however, merely confirmed the habit that he inherited. He had come by it honestly. Possibly it might be said that he made vicious use of a perfectly respectable custom. Possibly again he might have been the victim of that subtle change from a reputable imperial concern to a disreputable national interference—disreputable because the interests of Spain were being buttressed by the waning spirit of empire. Ferdinand of Austria had given Philip a very concrete example of dictatorial conduct in anticipating the death of a pontiff and the consequent election by definite instructions, *dextere et modeste omnibus modis*, to prevent the election of an enemy of the empire, and in forbidding the election of Cardinal Gonzaga of Mantua. His ambassador assured him that choice would fall upon "a most loyal pope." Charles V, of greater imperial significance than either Philip or Ferdinand, in the first formal letter addressed to a college, did not hesitate to urge the electing cardinals of 1534 to hold in mind "public tranquillity and the peace of Christendom." Charles may have been remembering his greater namesake when he justified his interference by referring to his character as protector of the Church. He may possibly have been aware that unity depended upon him, for the Protestant states had already taken their stand and the popes were little inclined to compromise. Charles hoped that a council guided by the right people would accomplish the reunion of Germanic Christendom. The popes of the council were more concerned in the integrity of tradition than in that of empire. Hence the watchfulness of Charles. Hence also the remarkable independence of Caraffa. The leader of the imperial party might warn Caraffa that he must abandon all hope of becoming pope because he was not in favor with the Emperor, but the ardent reformer might reply: "So much the better, if God will my election I shall be under obligation

to no man." Charles met with opposition and with occasional defeat. But he was more the master than the slave of the relationship of Church and State.

It is unnecessary to examine the days preceding Charles and to search for the motives that regulated the election of Renaissance popes. Suffice it to say that the futile attempt of the reforming councils to reduce the college to a representative constitution had been followed in general by an era of feuds among the Italian states and of jealous rivalries among the Italian families. These were frequently the determining factors in election.

Reviewing, therefore, the four episodes, one can see that each presents characteristics peculiar to itself. Within the sixteenth century emperors and kings make their wishes clearly known; they present their lists of candidates. In the middle of the seventeenth century secular rulers have their parties within the college, and their accredited ambassadors in the immediate neighborhood; they are both opposed and supported by the canon lawyers of the day. At the opening of the eighteenth century there is a transition from a forceful influence to a dominating right; no moment short of actual election is too late for an empowered cardinal to pronounce the Veto. At the dawning of the twentieth century a pope publishes a constitution in which the Veto is expressly forbidden.

The next conclave alone, provided the Veto is attempted, can determine whether the Exclusion is a matter of history or whether it belongs to the fiber of a Church of imperial significance. Pius X has taken sides in the controversy that has long been waged between those who, like Sägmüller, hold that the Veto has always been a despotic interference, and those who, like Wahrmund, regard it in the light of unwritten law. In referring to papal legislation of the past, beginning with Pius IV and ending with Pius IX, the present pope (Pius X) thinks that there has been a three-century opposition to the Exclusion, while those who are of

another mind infer that constitutions and bulls have been too general in their phraseology to affect such a concrete matter as this. I venture to suggest that Herbert Thurston is wrong in imagining that the Exclusion and the temporal power of the papacy are in some way of inseparable significance, and therefore that the days of the Veto are necessarily at an end. I should say rather that the Exclusion and the political connotation of an international Church are the inseparable elements, and that the Exclusion or the possibility thereof may be not only permissible for the states concerned but wholesome for the Church involved. And I can not help feeling that such is the instinct of Romanism to-day. The *Civilta Cattolica* declared the Veto dead when it did not appear in the election of Leo XIII. Thurston criticizes Austria for employing it in the conclave of 1903. Both believe that its time has come. But they do not remember that France and Austria threatened to censor the decrees of the land-poor church of 1870; they have forgotten that Bismarck[1] may have been blundering at the truth when he suggested in 1872 some kind of international agreement in the recognition of a pope; they are oblivious to the present relationship between Church and State in Italy, which is one of living protest against the withdrawal of temporal power and of refusal to participate in the new civil régime.

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A Sketch of the Religious History of the Negroes in the South

By

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A SKETCH OF THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE NEGROES IN THE SOUTH

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(*Read December 31, 1912*)

"ABOUT the last of August came in a Dutch man of warre that sold us twenty negars." Thus reads the ancient official record which chronicles in those few words one of the most fateful events that has found place in the annals of our country, the introduction of African slavery. The year was 1619, and the place was the little colony of Jamestown, then in the thirteenth year of its existence. The institution at once took root downward and bore fruit upward. The trade rapidly grew and the market enlarged despite many earnest protests, until throughout the thirteen colonies ready sale was found for all the slaves that were offered. The traffic continued for one hundred and eighty-nine years, and when it was finally suppressed in 1808, there was a slave population in the United States numbering considerably over one million. From the first the most popular market was in the South, and ultimately the institution became localized in that section. This was not because of difference of mental and moral attitude in the two sections, but because of different climatic and economic conditions.

These imported slaves belonged ethnologically to the negro race as distinguished from the other races that inhabit Africa. The author of an article in the American Encyclopedia says,

The term negro denotes an ideal type distinguished by certain physical characters, such as are seen in the people of the coast of Guinea, viz.,—black skin, woolly hair, flat nose, thick everted lips, and a prognathous form of skull. Negroes occupy about one half of Africa, excluding the northern and southern extremities. Out of Africa they are found throughout America and the West Indies.

James Anthony Froude, in depicting the character of the slave population of the West Indies says: "Evidently they belonged to a race far inferior to the Zulus and Caffres whom I had known in South Africa. They would have been slaves in their own country, if they had not been brought to ours; and at the worst had lost nothing by the change." Evidence of the extreme degradation of the Africans who were brought to our shores is furnished by the fact that the traders secured their cargo through the agency of the Africans themselves. It was their own flesh and blood who tore the slaves away from their miserable homes, burning their villages, chasing them down, mutilating and destroying many to gratify their selfish greed by selling into bondage those whom they managed to take alive.

It is well to bear in mind that American slavery dealt with one of the lowest orders of the human family. The law of evolution, which is credited by some of our modern scientists with an energy that is well-nigh, if not altogether, equal to achieving the miracle of creation, seems to have given up its task in despair in the case of the African negro. What he was when he first emerged into the light of history that he is to-day, the same low savage, living usually in a state of nudity, and under the power of crude and debasing superstitions. He has never evolved any national organization, nor any system of laws, nor any settled family life. He has never evolved a schoolhouse, nor a text-book, nor even an alphabet out of which a book might be made. This is not saying that he is incapable of development. It has

been demonstrated *ex abundante* that he is capable of indefinite development. But he seems incapable of self-development. He does not embody in himself any law of evolution. Stimulus and guidance must come from without.

In studying the religious history of these people in their new home, it will be in the interest of clearness to divide the history into three periods: First, the Colonial period, second, the period between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War; third, the period since the Civil War. These were epoch-marking periods in the history of our country, and the changes which they introduced had much influence over the lives of the colored population.

I. The Colonial Period

The chief source of data of this period is *Religious Instruction of the Negroes*, by Rev. Charles Colcock Jones, D.D., Savannah, Ga., 1842. Dr. Jones was a minister of the Presbyterian Church in the South. He was distinguished for intellectual gifts and attainments, and for saintliness of character. He was an ardent friend of the slaves, devoted much time to evangelistic work among them, and prepared and published for use in their religious instruction a most admirable and widely used catechism.

The Colonial period covers 157 years. During this time the number of slaves increased from twenty to 500,000. As nearly as can be ascertained, these were distributed among the thirteen colonies as follows: Massachusetts, 3500; Rhode Island, 4373; Connecticut, 6000; New Hampshire, 659; New York, 15,000; New Jersey, 7600; Delaware, 9000; Pennsylvania, 10,000; Maryland, 80,000; Virginia, 165,000; North Carolina, 75,000; South Carolina, 110,000; Georgia, 16,000; making a total of 502,132. Of this total, 446,000 were in the five southern colonies of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In the other eight colonies, the numbers were relatively so few that their

evangelization did not constitute a distinct problem, or if so, it was not one of great magnitude. There are indications that from the first introduction of slaves into the New England colonies, efforts were made for their conversion. The religious spirit was intense in these colonies, and they were more richly supplied with the means of grace. However, the efforts put forth in behalf of the slaves were not such as to satisfy tender consciences. John Eliot and Cotton Mather complain that no more was done, and assign as one reason for the neglect of the religious instruction of the slaves the "fear of thereby losing the benefit of their vassalage." This fear was common throughout the colonies. From medieval times the faith of the Church had been that it was proper to enslave heathen people, but not Christian. It seemed to follow logically that when heathen slaves were converted they should be manumitted. Hence the thrifty colonists, having invested their money in slaves, and having enjoyed the profits of their labor for a time, were reluctant to seek their conversion. This might mean the loss of their investments. Specific action was taken in some of the colonies to allay this fear. For instance, a law was enacted in Virginia in 1667, declaring: "Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom, in order that divers masters freed from this doubt may more carefully endeavor the propagation of christianity." The fear was not entirely allayed until an opinion was secured from his majesty's attorney and solicitor-generals in the early part of the eighteenth century. This opinion, signed by these two distinguished legal lights, was distributed widely through the colonies. Thus a serious obstacle was removed, and presumably "divers masters more carefully endeavored the propagation of Christianity."

During this period, the most lively interest in the religious welfare of the slaves was manifested by the Christians of Great Britain. It is not uncommon for sympathy for a degraded people to increase in proportion to distance.

The explanation is that sympathy at a distance is not chilled by contact with the degraded people, with those whose coarse natures, offensive habits, uncouth appearance, and vicious propensities are a source of constant irritation. Perhaps the first active expression of this sympathy was in a pamphlet by Richard Baxter, bearing date 1673. This pamphlet contained "directions to those masters in foreign plantations who have negroes and other slaves; being a solution of several cases about them." Wide circulation was given to this pamphlet among those for whom it was designed and it is believed that much good was accomplished by it. Far more effective efforts, however, were put forth by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." This society was organized under William III, June 16, 1701. Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, was appointed by his majesty the first president. The society was patronized by the king and all the dignitaries of the Church of England. The work of the society consisted of three great branches: "The care and instruction of all the church's own people settled in the colonies; the conversion of the Indian savages; and the conversion of the negroes." Very naturally the society acted on the maxim that the "Children must first be fed." So many of these were destitute that after they had been only partially and even meagerly supplied, little more than crumbs was left for the poor Indians and negroes. The first missionary of this society, Rev. Samuel Thomas, was sent to South Carolina in 1702. In reporting his labors to the society he said that he "had taken much pains also in instructing the negroes, and had learned 20 of them to read." His successor in 1706 was Dr. LeJeau. He reports that he "found parents and masters indued with much good-will and a ready disposition to have their children and servants taught the christian religion," and further that he "had baptized many negroes and indian slaves." Dr. LeJeau was probably disposed to paint in roseate hues, as he had but

eight negro communicants at the end of his eight years of service.

Missionaries from this society labored in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, New York, and in the New England colonies; all of whom it seems devoted a part of their time to the spiritual good of the negroes. A school was established in New York City in 1704, at which date it was computed that there were 1500 negro and Indian slaves in the city. Mr. Elias Neau was appointed catechist. It is reported that many negroes were instructed and baptized. This school was continued after Mr. Neau's death in 1722 for several years with considerable success. Dr. Frederick Dalcho, in his *History of South Carolina*, relates that through the influences and exertions of Commissary Garden a schoolhouse was built in Charleston by private subscription, and opened in 1742. The Commissary purchased at the expense of the society two negro boys, to whom were given the baptismal names of Harry and Andrew. They were placed in the school, and when sufficiently qualified were made teachers. Fifteen years from the opening of the school, the society was informed that it was still flourishing and full of children. Five years later it was closed for the reason that Andrew had died and Harry had gone to the bad.

The society continued its efforts to advance the cause of religion in the colonies until 1783, when the colonies were separated from the mother country. Throughout this whole period it showed an unabated concern for the souls of the African slaves, frequently admonishing its missionaries to use their best endeavors in their behalf and to stir up the masters to assist in the work. Dr. Tiffany, in his *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, summing up the labors of this society, says: "It had stimulated and supported missions to the negroes and Indians as well as the white colonists. Its labors were chiefly in those colonies where the church was not established." It was this policy of the society to put forth its

chief energies where the Church was not established that provoked the rather unamiable criticism of Cotton Mather. "The society, very little to their honor," he says, "send forth and support their missionaries to maintain confusion in towns of well instructed Christians, while at the same time whole plantations of the southern colonies, where is perfect paganism, are left wholly uncared for." This statement, to say the least of it, is too sweeping, for, as we have seen, the society did not leave the paganism in the southern colonies "wholly uncared for." But it is true that the negroes were far more numerous and far more in need of missionary service in those colonies where the Church was established, and where according to Dr. Tiffany the society bestowed least of its labors.

In 1738 the Moravian Church, under the lead of Count Zinzendorf, took steps to establish a mission exclusively to the negroes. Dr. Bray of England had left funds to be devoted to the conversion of negro slaves in South Carolina. Those in charge of these funds asked the Count to procure missionaries for them. He objected that the Church of England might hesitate to recognize the ordination of Moravian missionaries. The question was referred to Dr. Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, who gave it as his opinion that "the Moravians being members of an Episcopal Church whose doctrines contained nothing contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles ought not to be denied free access to the heathen." This very cautious answer removed any scruples from the minds of the trustees of the funds, and they forthwith employed two missionaries. These went to Georgia, hoping to be forwarded on their journey by a colony of Moravians who had settled there. But obstacles were thrown in their way and they turned aside from their original purpose. Ten years later certain Moravian Brethren belonging to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, undertook several long and difficult journeys through Maryland, Virginia, and the borders of North Carolina, preaching the Gospel to the negroes. Oppo-

sition developed on the part of the proprietors, who were not willing to have strangers instruct their slaves, as they had their own ministers whom they paid to do this work. Owing to various hindrances, the efforts of the Moravians accomplished little.

While no other Church, during the colonial period, established missions exclusively for the purpose of reaching the slaves, there is evidence that considerable interest was felt on the subject by the ministry generally, and also by Christian laymen who owned slaves. In 1747, Rev. Samuel Davies began his notable work in Virginia. His heart yearned with compassion over the benighted slaves. He estimated that as many as 1000 attended on his ministry at his different preaching places.

> Never have I been so struck [he wrote] with the appearance of an assembly as when I have glanced an eye to that part of the meeting house where they usually sit, adorned (for so it seemed to me) with so many black countenances eagerly attentive to every word they hear and frequently bathed in tears. A considerable number of them (about a hundred) have been baptized, after a proper time for instruction.

In 1757 he wrote to Dr. Bellamy:

> What little success I have lately had has been chiefly among the extremes of gentlemen and negroes. Indeed God has been remarkably working among the latter. I have baptized about 150 adults; and at the last sacramental solemnity, I had the pleasure of seeing the table graced with about sixty black faces.

George Whitefield, on his frequent visits to America, showed a deep concern for the slaves. In an extended letter written from Savannah in 1740, and published in the fourth volume of his works, he excoriated in no mild manner the masters for their treatment of the "poor negroes," censuring them especially for neglecting the souls of their slaves. He showed his concern not in word only, but also in deed,

preaching to them with great delight and with powerful effect as often as opportunity offered.

Methodism was introduced into this country in 1766. There was little time, during the period we are now considering, for it to show its attitude towards the slaves. It did not, however, leave itself without a witness. Mr. Pillmore, one of the missionaries sent out by Mr. Wesley in 1769, says: "The number of blacks that attend the preaching affects me much." From 1773 to 1776 there was a great revival in Virginia, extending down into North Carolina, under the preaching of the Methodists in connection with Mr. Jarratt of the Episcopal Church. Hundreds of blacks attended the meetings along with the whites, sitting in the same chapels and showing by their tears the effect of the Gospel on their hearts, in many cases, doubtless, its saving effect.

The reports and narratives from which the foregoing data are taken make clearly evident that manifold efforts, of quite limited extent it must be admitted, were put forth for the spiritual benefit of the slaves. The owners did something both in the way of personal efforts, and in the way of employing others to instruct them; a few catechetical schools were established for them; some were taught to read and books were distributed among them; they were allowed the rest and privilege of the Sabbath; a good many were baptized and received into the fellowship of the churches; in a word, a general interest, if not as earnest and profound as it should have been, was felt for them throughout the colonies. Such an interest was officially expressed when slavery was introduced into Georgia in 1747. Twenty-three representatives from the different districts met in Savannah, and having elected Major Horton president, they resolved that "the owners of slaves should educate the young, and use every possible means of making religious impressions on the minds of the aged; and that all acts of inhumanity should be punished by the civil authorities." Such expressions of interest were not always followed by corresponding activity.

After the best showing for this period that can be made, the truth must be confessed that the religious interests of the negroes were deplorably neglected. The average of piety in the colonies was not high. Most of those who came to found homes in the new world were not missionary in spirit. They did not buy slaves to see how much good they could do them. It was the body, not the soul of the African that elicited their interest; his strength to toil, not his capacity for religion that made him attractive. It must not be overlooked, however, that the circumstances were exceedingly unfavorable for any extensive and persistent endeavors to give the Gospel to the negroes. The country was in a formative state, its oldest parts but newly settled, fresh colonists continually coming in, and the older colonists pushing on to fresh conquests of the wilderness. Frequent wars with the Indians, wars with the Dutch, the French, and the Spaniards contributed to the disorder and demoralization of the colonies. Ministers of the Gospel were few, and of necessity not the blacks only but the whites also were neglected.

2. The Period between the Great Wars

For several years after the Revolutionary War its evil effects on religious enterprise were painfully apparent. Among these evil effects was French infidelity, which threw a blight over a wide extent of territory. It was not till the closing years of the century that the religious forces of the country regained something of their lost vigor, and began to make themselves decidedly felt in the lives of the people. In 1799 occurred the great awakening in Kentucky. It continued over quite a period and wrought marvelous changes in large sections of the Southern states. Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists joined in the work of kindling and spreading the revival fires. As one of the results of this spiritual awakening, it is estimated that between three and four thousand negroes were converted.

The Methodist Church was the first of the denominations to prepare a separate roll for the colored communicants. It began this custom as early as 1786, at which time it reported 1890 colored members. The year following, the number had reached 3893, showing that the Church more than doubled this class of members in twelve months. The Methodists seem to have led all the churches in the persistent, self-denying zeal by which they sought to bring the slaves to a knowledge of salvation. By 1815, they had gathered in as the fruits of this zeal a membership of 43,187. That year there was a defection in the colored membership and an independent Church was organized, known as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, under the lead of Richard Allen. This defection, which began in Philadelphia and spread to New York the next year, retarded temporarily the growth of the colored element in the Methodist Church, but did not abate its energies. Not content with having its ministers share their time and labors between white and black, in 1830 missions were commenced for the special benefit of the slave population in the states of South Carolina and Georgia. Six years later, the bishops, in a letter to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of England, referring to the slaves, say:

> In addition to those who are mingled with our white congregations, we have several prosperous missions exclusively for their spiritual benefit, which have been and are still owned of God to the conversion of many precious souls. On the plantations of the South and Southwest our devoted missionaries are laboring for the salvation of the slaves, catechizing their children, and bringing all within their influence, as far as possible, to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ; and we need hardly add that we shall most gladly avail ourselves, as we have ever done, of all the means in our power to promote their best interests.

A few years later, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church reports:

In no portion of our work are our missionaries called to endure greater privations or make greater sacrifices of health and life than in these missions among the slaves, many of which are located in sections of the Southern country which are proverbially sickly, and under the fatal influence of a climate which few white men are capable of enduring even for a single year. And yet notwithstanding so many valuable missionaries have fallen martyrs to their toils in these missions, year after year there are found others to take their places, who fall likewise in their work; for the love of Christ and the love of the souls of these poor Africans in bonds, constrain our brethren in the itinerant work of the Southern Conferences to exclaim, "here are we, send us."

In the Presbyterian Church the interest awakened by Samuel Davies continued after his departure. The work was taken up later by such distinguished ministers as Dr. Archibald Alexander, and Dr. John Holt Rice. The latter was employed for a time as a special missionary to the blacks. It is a matter of record, that one prominent object which Dr. Rice had in view in devoting himself to the founding of a Theological Seminary in Prince Edward County, Virginia, was that a ministry might be educated at home and fitted for effective service in a field composed of both masters and slaves. The same is true in reference to those through whose initiative the Theological Seminary in Columbia, South Carolina, was established and endowed.

In 1817, Hanover Presbytery, Virginia, addressed a circular letter to the churches under its care, solemnly exhorting them not to neglect their duty to their servants. In 1816, the General Assembly was asked: "Ought baptism on the promise of the master be administered to the children of his slaves?" The answer was twofold:

(1) It is the duty of masters who are members of the church, to present the children of parents in servitude to the ordinance of baptism, provided they are in a situation to train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, thus securing to them the rich advantages which the gospel promises. (2) It is the duty of

Christian ministers to inculcate this doctrine and to baptize all children of this description when presented to them by their masters.

Both the Congregational and Episcopal Churches gave expression to the same views on this subject. In no way could they bear more signal testimony to the obligation which they recognized as resting on Christian masters to share the blessings of the Gospel with their dependent slaves.

It was the rule of Presbyterian ministers, whose pastorates were in slave-holding sections, to preach to negroes along with the whites, sittings being provided for them in the white churches. They were also accustomed to hold special services for them. By these means they gathered great numbers of colored members into their churches, these frequently far outnumbering the white communicants. White and black were subject to the same entrance test, and afterwards to the same oversight and discipline.

Synods and Presbyteries spent much time in considering methods for reaching the slaves with religious instruction, and in the narratives presented from year to year to these bodies we learn that there was no little activity among the ministry in this behalf. For example, in the narrative of the Synod of Mississippi and Alabama for the year 1834, it is recorded:

> All our ministers feel a deep interest in the instruction of the colored part of our population. A few of us, owing to peculiar circumstances, have little opportunity of preaching to them separately and at stated times, but embrace every opportunity that offers; others devote a portion of every Sabbath; others a half of every Sabbath; and two of our number preach exclusively to them.

In South Carolina and Georgia, perhaps also in other states, associations of planters were formed for the special object of affording religious instruction to the negroes, by their own efforts, and by missionaries employed for the

purpose. Those associations were undenominational, bringing to the fellowship of a common work members of all the Evangelical Churches.

The Baptist Church had its beginning in this country in Rhode Island. It was slow in spreading South, but no sooner did it come into contact with the Southern negroes than these showed a decided preference for it. Two things may account for this, apart from their discernment of the superior merits of this Church. First, its mode of administering baptism appealed to their love of the spectacular; and second, its democratic form of government gratified their sense of individual importance. It was difficult to hold them in the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches, if they had an opportunity to desert to the Baptist. Both these Churches had many years the start, and yet, in 1840, Dr. Archibald Alexander writes: "In general the negroes are followers of the Baptists in Virginia." At an early period the Baptists gathered them into churches of their own and placed over them preachers of their own race, not however relinquishing all oversight. A colored Baptist church of sixty-nine members was organized in Savannah, Georgia, in 1788. The pastor was Andrew Bryan, a man of good sense and of zeal unquenchable. When he began to gather the colored people and to exhort them, he was reprimanded and forbidden to continue the practice. When threats did not deter him, he was imprisoned. This failing, he was publicly whipped; whereupon he declared that he rejoiced not only to be whipped, but would gladly suffer death for the cause of Jesus Christ. His apostolic spirit put to shame his adversaries, and he was permitted to pursue his career without further molestation. We have an interesting picture of him as he appeared in his old age.

His fleecy and well-set locks [writes a contemporary] have been bleached by eighty winters; and dressed like a bishop of London, he rides, moderately corpulent, in his chair, and with

manly features of a jetty hue, fills every person to whom he gracefully bows with pleasure and veneration, by displaying in smiles even rows of natural teeth, white as ivory, and a pair of fine black eyes, sparkling with intelligence, benevolence and joy.

It is estimated that by the year 1803, the colored members belonging to the Baptist Church numbered 18,000. Twenty years later the estimate was 40,000. While the white Baptist churches had no societies exclusively for evangelizing the negroes, their associations frequently laid the duty on the hearts and consciences of their people. Multitudes of colored preachers among the African Baptists in the Southern states were preaching to their own color on the plantations. Their preaching was broken and illiterate, but doubtless through this very imperfect medium the truth reached and benefited many souls.

The Episcopal Church fell heir to the interest aroused and the efforts put forth by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. But this Church suffered more than any other from the Revolutionary War. It lost nearly all of its preachers and all its state support, and was left in such a languishing and disorganized condition that for some years it had to devote all its enfeebled energies to strengthening the things which remained and were ready to die. When better days came, it showed in many ways its continued concern for the negroes. Bishops Meade of Virginia and Ives of North Carolina were noted for their efforts to stir up those under their jurisdiction to a faithful discharge of their duties to their slaves. Bishop Dehon of South Carolina was abundant in personal labors, and thus by example as well as by precept encouraged among masters and mistresses in his flock that best kindness to their servants—a concern for their eternal salvation. The Episcopal Convention in South Carolina in 1838, "Resolved, that it is respectfully recommended to the members of our church who are proprietors of slaves, individually and collectively to take measures for the support of

clerical missionaries and lay catechists who are members of our church for the religious instruction of their slaves." And again, "Resolved, that it be urged upon the rectors and vestries of our country parishes to exert themselves to obtain the services of such missionaries and catechists." Carrying out these instructions a number of missionaries were employed who devoted their whole time to work among the negroes, while the clergy generally gave freely of their labor to the instruction of the colored members connected with their churches and conducted regular and flourishing Sabbath schools for colored children.

Some special difficulties deserve to be mentioned. As long as the slave trade continued it was a heavy handicap. The historian Lecky says it was shown in the English Parliament in 1750, when methods of making the traffic more effective were under discussion, that 46,000 slaves were bought annually by the English colonies. It is easy to see how this would greatly increase the difficulties of the work. Every fresh importation of Africans was adding a fresh mass of raw heathenism to the slave population, and this retarded the modifying effect of all previous efforts for their evangelization. It was like pouring a fresh tributary of muddy water into a stream that was beginning to clear. These newcomers were of a mature age and would never acquire a sufficient knowledge of the English language to make it easy to reach them with religious instruction. Among them were witch doctors, medicine men, who kept alive the worst features of their native superstitions. They competed with the Christian missionaries and had the advantage of constant contact and the natural bent of the African mind. Voodooism exists to this day, and still plays an important part in the social and religious life of the negroes.

Another complication was the disposition of the slaves to insurrection which had to be closely watched. In 1822, a serious conspiracy was formed in Charleston, South Carolina, under the direction of a slave by the name of Vesey,

which contemplated the massacre of all the whites in the city. It came near realization, but the conspirators were betrayed and Vesey and his associates were hanged. Less than ten years elapsed before the famous Nat Turner insurrection occurred in Virginia, in which fifty-five white persons were murdered. This spread terror all over the South and had a decided effect in the way of curtailing the religious privileges of the negroes. Both Vesey and Turner had been able to organize and mature their plots through the medium of negro congregations which met ostensibly for worship. Both were earnest students of the Bible, and taught their people that they were in the same relation to God as the Jews of old, and as the Jews were authorized of God to exterminate the Canaanites, so it was the divine will that they should destroy the whites and enter into their possessions. In consequence of these insurrections, legislation was passed forbidding negroes to preach and prohibiting their free assembly for public worship.

This state of apprehension was greatly aggravated by the course of abolition sentiment in certain sections of the North. This sentiment grew violent in its expression, and was directed not merely against slavery as an institution but against all owners of slaves. No language was thought too intemperate to characterize their inhumanity. This aroused both indignation and alarm. It turned the attention of masters largely from the religious needs of their slaves, and set them on expedients for guarding against apprehended dangers. Laws were passed in many of the states forbidding the teaching of negroes to read. This made the Bible a sealed book to the negro, except as it was taught orally. It greatly weakened the efficiency of Sabbath schools for the same reason. All catechetical instruction had to be given orally, and repeated until the slow mind of the negro by oft-hearing was able to retain at least a portion in memory. The South was barred to preachers or missionaries from other sections. Masters were exceedingly suspicious of

outside influence, and only ministers known to be in sympathy with pro-slavery views were given access to the negroes. The South became a very uncomfortable place for those who in any form abetted the abolition movement. The Synod of the Associate Church in 1840 addressed a letter to congregations in the South, setting forth their duties with respect to emancipation. The Moderator of the Synod was sent to read this letter to the congregations. The result was a riot in one of the congregations in South Carolina, and the violent expulsion of the preacher from the state. A yet more tragic experience was that of a student from Lane Seminary. He was spending his vacation selling Bibles in Nashville, Tennessee, and in the surrounding country. Unfortunately he used copies of Garrison's *Liberator* to wrap his Bibles so as to protect them from injury while he was hauling them around in his buggy. Some one happening to notice this, jumped to the conclusion that Bible selling was a mere ruse. The young man was soon in the hands of an infuriated mob. His life was saved by the intervention of a few influential men of more moderate and reasonable dispositions. But they had to consent to a compromise. The young man was whipped by the sheriff on his naked back in the public square and then hurried out of the community.

This inflamed state of feeling was very unfavorable to missionary labors in behalf of the blacks. Self-preservation was the matter of first concern, and even those masters who felt most sensibly their obligations to the souls of their slaves exercised a strict vigilance to keep the negroes from contact with teachers who might stir them to discontent. The great Methodist Church, ever the ardent friend of the black man, came near to shutting the door of opportunity in its face. By its strong deliverances against slavery in its General Conferences, it put a heavy handicap on its preachers in the South. They were regarded by many with grave suspicion and in a few instances they were the victims of persecution by the lawless elements of society. It was a

godsend to the poor ignorant negroes when the division of the Methodist Church occurred in 1844. This freed the Southern portion from the odium which attached to the Church as a whole and there was no more active or effective agent in the work of negro evangelization than the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

Gradually the extreme sensitiveness to danger, created by the violent outbreak of the abolition sentiment in the North, subsided, and there was for some years before the Civil War a growing sentiment in behalf of missions to the slaves. The number of missionaries constantly increased, and contributions for their support became more liberal. All classes, preachers and laymen, Christian masters and their families displayed a deepening interest and earnestness in the work of imparting religious instruction. To the lasting credit of the Churches of ante-bellum days, it should be said that they did not winnow their ministry and take the sorriest part to serve as missionaries to the slaves. Distinguished bishops of the Methodist and Episcopal Churches, learned and eloquent preachers of the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches consecrated their splendid abilities to this work. Furthermore, it may be noted that by their contemporaries they were more honored for such consecration of their talents than they would have been had they occupied the most prominent pulpits of the land.

Estimates of the number of colored communicants at the outbreak of the Civil War vary from 500,000 to 650,000. The colored population at that time was 4,000,000. The lowest estimate gives us at the close of the second period of our survey, one eighth of the negroes as church members. These had been admitted to the Churches after having been instructed and examined by white teachers. They had been tried by the same test as white communicants and had, therefore, given credible evidence of faith in Christ. Five hundred thousand such Christians were no mean tribute to the fidelity of many Southern whites who labored and

prayed for the souls of God's black children. The other seven-eighths of the colored population did not remain untouched. Doubtless the Gospel message reached them all. The Sabbath was universally given them as a day of rest, and, what with access to the white churches, special missions on the great plantations, organized Sabbath schools, and other less formal methods of instruction, few of them, if any, failed to feel the influence of the Gospel teaching.

3. The Period since the Civil War

The emancipation of the negro changed the whole complexion of his religious life. He was now free to choose his course in religion as in everything else. Naturally he preferred his own church, his own place of worship, and his own preacher. At once his church became an institution of supreme importance. It was his one, sole, all-sufficient institution, answering every need. It was the center of activity for all his emancipated faculties. Thither he resorted for spiritual refreshment, for social enjoyment, and for political discussions. The church building was at once sanctuary, playhouse, and political rostrum. For these several uses it was in constant demand. There were few nights in the year when its doors were not open. The writer was in Brownsville, Tennessee, in 1875, and was informed that the negroes in that town had held meetings in their church every night since the close of the war without a single exception. A series of meetings running 3365 successive nights was probably not an isolated event.

As soon as the negro could cast a vote, he became a shining mark for the demagogue. He furnished a fruitful field for the Northern carpet-bagger, and the Southern scalawag. These allied themselves with the negro preacher, and the church was the rallying place where they harangued their colored constituents, and fed their imaginations on illusory promises. For some years, the "forty acres and a

mule" were made to do profitable service. The forty acres had no special attraction, but a mule for every negro voter would mark the beginning of the millennium. The credulous darkies gave to these unscrupulous leaders a confidence that was invulnerable to suspicion. The worst result of this alliance was the effect it had on the relation between the negroes and their former masters and friends. The Reconstruction measures by depressing the whites and exalting the blacks, by wounding the pride of the one, and inflaming the conceit of the other, sundered the bond of friendship. However wrong and cruel slavery may have been, it did not prevent the formation of tender ties between masters and slaves. On many a plantation, the white family, old and young, was looked up to with almost worshipful reverence and was served with a devotion as loyal as ever subject paid to prince. This was clearly demonstrated by the fact that during the terrible years of war, throughout wide areas of the South, the wives and children of those who were fighting to perpetuate slavery were absolutely at the mercy of the blacks, and were as safe as they would have been in an impregnable fortress. To this loyal devotion of their slaves the owners responded with a beneficent regard that was ever ready to minister to their needs. This friendly relation was sadly disturbed, and in a large measure destroyed by the course of events after emancipation. Not unnaturally the negroes became the political allies of their emancipators, but unfortunately they were blind and easily deluded allies. They were taught by designing office-seekers that if their old masters should ever regain power the first use they would make of it would be to put them back in slavery. Thus their dark minds were filled with suspicion against those on whom they had hitherto been dependent, and among whom they must continue to live. Political antagonism erected a barrier which was almost impassable even in the interest of religion. The blacks did not desire religious instruction from the whites, and the whites, no longer feeling very sensibly their

obligation, became callous about giving it. Consequently through all the years since the Civil War the religious development of the negroes has been largely, not exclusively, in their own hands. Those connected with the Baptist denomination were already fairly well supplied with separate churches and preachers. These were at the beginning of this period the most numerous and have continued to maintain the lead. The colored members belonging to other denominations withdrew from the white Churches, and took over to themselves the management of their ecclesiastical affairs.

So far as respects numerical growth, the change has been in their favor. Perhaps never in the history of Christianity, when no outside pressure was used, has the roll of communicants grown as rapidly as in the negro Churches of the South in the last fifty years. According to Dr. Booker T. Washington, who is presumably as well informed as any one on the subject:

> There are now over 3,700,000 negroes that are members of churches. They have 35,200 ordained ministers, 35,000 church buildings, and they own church property to the value of $56,650,000.00. For their religious and moral instruction the negroes are maintaining 35,000 Sunday Schools, which contain 1,750,000 pupils who are taught by 210,000 negro teachers. Negro churches are contributing annually over a half million dollars for education. They are supporting 175 colleges, industrial schools and academies.

From these statistics it is seen that considerably more than one third of the negro population is gathered into their churches; and they have one church building and one preacher to every 106 members. There is no other race or class of people on the face of our globe who can make a better showing. Now, if the growth indicated by these figures could be taken at its face value, we should end our survey at this point with a song of praise. And instead of

concerning ourselves further about them, we should rather sit at their feet and learn of them. But when it comes to measuring religious conditions among the negroes, nothing can lie like figures.

The explanation of this phenomenal growth in membership is that the negro preacher knows what kind of religion his people want, and he is able to stimulate and propagate this variety *ad libitum, ad infinitum*. The supervision of the whites put a restraint on the negroes' natural aptitudes, and sought to fashion his religion after an ideal that was foreign to his taste. What the negro craves is emotional excitement. He is never so happy as when he can abandon himself to a perfect frenzy of religious fervor, and give expression to it that can be heard a mile. He is not seriously interested in either the didactic or ethical feature of Christianity. He calls for a noise-producing preacher, and a sermon with an abundance of rousement in it. His race can furnish him with an unlimited supply of such preachers and sermons. One of their own number writing from Thomas County, Georgia, testifies that; "The church which does not have its shouting is the exception to the rule. This is true in the towns as well as in the country." He further says:

> In the absence of clearly defined doctrines, the great shout accompanied with weird cries and shrieks and contortions, and followed by a multi-varied experience which takes the candidate through the most heart-rending scenes,—this today in Thomas County is accepted by the majority of the churches as unmistakable evidence of regeneration.

What is true in Thomas County is true substantially throughout the whole of the black belt of the South. Thus with preachers after their own heart, and a religion from which morals and instruction have been largely eliminated, their progress has been without a parallel.

It is not meant that there has been an utter abandonment of the religious ideals inculcated by white preachers

and teachers in the days of slavery. There are doubtless in the colored churches of the South quite a goodly number of members in the aggregate who give evidence of genuine piety. There is some preaching of the essentials of the Christian faith even by those preachers who pander most to the emotionalism of their hearers, and many through these elementary truths, notwithstanding the distracting accompaniments, catch a vision of the Christ and accept Him as their Saviour. But if quality be considered, these statistics of the present day do not mean what the ante-bellum statistics meant, when white officials weighed the evidence of conversion before admitting to membership, and applied the moral rule of the Ten Commandments in administering discipline.

A few words must be said about the mission work that has been done among the Southern negroes by white Christians since the war. Owing to the deplorable estrangement to which reference has been made, the larger part of this work has been carried on by missionaries from the North, supported by Churches in the North. Presbyterians and Congregationalists have been especially active. This work has embraced three departments, evangelization, church extension, and education. In each of these spheres, good has been accomplished, but by far the most valuable is in the sphere of education. These Churches have rightly judged that the most effective way to reach the negroes in the bulk is to train up a colored leadership. Hence, they have expended millions of dollars in building up schools of different grades from primary up to the fully equipped university. These numerous schools are distributed in all the states of the South and Southwest. In them thousands of colored youth are being carefully taught by competent and consecrated Christian teachers. Connected with several of the higher institutions are theological departments, in which many young men are receiving an intellectual, moral, and spiritual preparation which will fit them to do for their

people that which their people most need. They can give them clearer and more worthy conceptions of religion, higher ideals of the Christian life, and instruction in the essential doctrines of the Gospel.

These missions have not resulted as yet in gathering any large number of communicants into churches of like faith and order. Thirty-five thousand would be a liberal estimate of the number of colored Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The labors of these Churches are not likely to produce much fruit of this kind for many years to come. While they are training a leadership which the negroes need, it is not a leadership which they prefer to follow. The colored minister of Thomas County, Georgia, from whom we have already quoted, the Rev. W. H. Holloway, bears instructive testimony touching this point:

> Two churches in the same community—one presided over by an educated minister with lofty ideals and correct standards, and to whose better nature the old order is repulsive, and the other presided over by a typical representative of the old school —the educated minister will often preach unseen and waste his eloquence on the desert air. He soon finds that not only is his church losing its pristine prominence, not only is his own reputation as a representative clergymen waning, but that there is soon a very perceptible diminution in the loaves and fishes. It is a problem, and is forcing young preachers who would otherwise do good work in the ministry into the old ruts which, while their better natures condemn it, they have not the power to resist.

To one acquainted with conditions, it is easy to believe this testimony. It requires no little zeal for the truth, and no small measure of moral courage for the educated negro preacher, qualified for leadership, to stand to his post, and in the face of waning popularity and threatened defeat to war manfully and persistently and unconquerably for his ideals. His mission is to substitute instruction for emotionalism, and to wed morality to religion; and this is saying

that his mission is nothing less than revolutionary. Necessarily his success must wait upon the slow method of "Precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line: here a little and there a little." But herein lies the hope of the race. Their uplift must come through their own leaders. The more favored white race can do, and is doing something, in the way of evangelizing, and better still in the way of organizing and conducting Sabbath schools among them; but the great bulk of the colored population will never be reached, can never be reached by these methods. The negroes will continue to prefer their own preachers and teachers, and to manage their own church affairs. The best work that is being done for the negroes of the South is being done in the hundreds of schools that have been planted and are being sustained by the contributions of white Churches, and in which the teaching is by white teachers inspired by love for Christ.

A final word. If the status of the negro in the South is to be understood, consideration must be given to the fact that slavery presented a composite picture. It is difficult to keep all features of the picture distinctly before the mind, and impossible to present these features lucidly in a brief essay. Slavery was one thing in sections of the country where slaves were few in proportion to the white population. It was quite a different thing in other sections where the slaves far outnumbered the whites. In the one case they were under the direct care of their owners. In the other case, they were quartered to themselves, and placed under the management of overseers. Again, the condition of slaves occupied in household duties, such as cooks, nurses, maids, hostlers, and body-servants, was quite different from that of those occupied with the duties of the farm. While the legal relation of master and slave was the same in all cases, the personal relation, the measure of kindly personal contact varied greatly. Hence slavery wrought very different results in these different classes of slaves.

These results have told on the progress of the race to this day, and account in large measure for the inequalities in moral, intellectual, social, and economic development, so marked in the different classes of these people. The negroes of the South, fifty years after their emancipation, exhibit every stage of progress from the low degraded specimen of humanity, scarcely removed from the barbarism of his native Africa, up to the cultured and refined graduate of our high-class university. The intermixture of white blood must be taken into consideration. This has told mightily on the upward climb of most of those who have attained to any conspicuous elevation. But the reason in part, and even in large part for the disparities noted, is that the negroes have enjoyed vastly unequal advantages, or suffered from vastly unequal disadvantages, as the case may be, through all the years since their remote ancestors landed on our shores. When their fetters were broken they did not have an equal start. They were not standing on the same plane. Some had been lifted far above the rest and began their development from a lofty vantage ground. "To him that hath shall be given." The distance has been widening. Hence we have a class of negroes who by their achievements in many directions inspire hope for the speedy uplift of the race. Unhappily the majority belong to the class who endured the greater hardships, and felt fewer of the elevating influences of slavery. As this brief sketch could not give place to detail, nor deal with exceptions, it has confined attention in this third period of our survey to the far larger and more backward class. In reference to these we may adopt the language of Rev. W. N. DeBerry of Springfield, Massachusetts. After studying the work of the Congregationalists in the South, he closes his report with these words, with which we close our study:

The improvement of the four-fifths of the Negro population who live in the rural regions is often exaggerated. It is still

shadowed with an ignorance which has barely been touched by the light of the scanty school training for a few weeks of the year and with a church life peculiarly infiltrated with superstition. In vast plantation populations the old slave Church still stands. Honesty, truth and purity are not taught, because neither preacher nor people have come to realize that these virtues are essential to the religious life. The ethical power of Christianity is scarcely felt, and the "plantation preacher is the curse of the people." The time is ripe for a forward gospel campaign in this great needy black South of the back country.

LIST OF MEMBERS

ADDISON, DANIEL DULANY, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of All Saints' Church, Brookline, Mass.; D.D. (Union College, 1901).

ALLISON, WILLIAM HENRY, Baptist, Rev.; dean, and professor of Ecclesiastical History, Colgate Theological Seminary, Hamilton, N. Y.; Ph.D. (University of Chicago, 1905).

AYER, JOSEPH CULLEN, JR., Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1893).

BAIRD, ANDREW BROWNING, Presbyterian, Rev.; acting principal, and professor of Church History, Manitoba College, Winnipeg, Canada; D.D. (Knox College, Toronto, 1902).

BALLANTYNE, JAMES, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Knox College, Toronto, Canada; D.D. (Manitoba College, 1906; Queens University, 1908).

BIRD, REMSEN DUBOIS, Presbyterian, Rev.; Instructor in Church History, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.; B.D. (*Ibid.*, 1912).

BLAND, SALEM GOLDSWORTH, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Church History in Wesley College, Winnipeg, Manitoba; D.D. (Queen's University, Kingston, 1903).

BROMER, EDWARD SHEPPARD, Reformed (German), Rev.; pastor First Reformed Church, Greensburg, Pa.; D.D. (Ursinus College, 1904).

BROWN, WILLIAM MONTGOMERY, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; Bishop of Arkansas (retired), Galion, Ohio; D.D. (Kenyon College, 1898; University of the South, 1899).

BUCKLEY, JAMES MUNROE, Methodist, Rev.; editor of *The New York Christian Advocate;* D.D. (Wesleyan University, 1872), LL.D. (Emory and Henry College, 1882); L.H.D. (Syracuse University).

BURGESS, THOMAS, Episcopalian, Rev.; priest in charge, St. Barnabas's Mission, Augusta, Maine.

Burr, George Lincoln, professor of Medieval History in Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; LL.D. (University of Wisconsin, 1904), Litt.D. (Western Reserve University, 1905).

Burrage, Champlin, Librarian of Manchester College, Oxford, England; (Newton Theological Institution, 1899); B.Litt. (Oxford), Hon. M.A. (Brown University).

Case, Clifford Philip, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; pastor First Reformed Church, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; diploma, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, 1900.

Carter, James, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History and Sociology in Lincoln University, Chester Co., Pa.

Chorley, Edward Clowes, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of St. Philip's, Garrison-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Historiographer of the Diocese of New York.

Christian, John Tyler, Baptist, Rev.; pastor of the second Baptist Church, Little Rock, Ark.; D.D. (Bethel College, Ky., 1890), LL.D. (Keachie College, La., 1898).

Christie, Francis Albert, Unitarian, layman; professor of Church History in Meadville Theological Seminary, Pa.; D.D. (Amherst College, 1909).

Clark, Calvin Montague, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine; D.D. (Williams College, 1914).

Coleman, Christopher Brush, professor of History and acting professor of Church History, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind.; B.D. (University of Chicago, 1899); Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1914).

Collier, Theodore Frelinghuysen, associate professor of European History in Brown University, Providence, R. I.; Ph.D. (Cornell University, 1906).

Demarest, William Henry Steele, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; president of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1901); LL.D. (Columbia University, 1910; Union College, 1911; University of Pittsburgh, 1912).

Dosker, Henry Elias, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Louisville Theological Seminary, Ky.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1894), LL.D. (Central University of Kentucky, 1905).

Dudley, John Henry Mervyn, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor of the First Congregational Church, Elizabeth, N. J.

Dwight, Henry Otis, Congregationalist, Rev.; Recording Secretary of the American Bible Society, New York City; LL.D. (Amherst College, 1896).

Emerton, Ephraim, Unitarian, layman; professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1876).

Evjen, John O., Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Church History in Augsburg Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn.; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1903).

Faulkner, John Alfred, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.; D.D. (Wesleyan University, 1897, Acadia College, 1902).

Ferguson, Henry, Episcopalian, Rev.; 123 Vernon St., Hartford, Conn.; LL.D. (Trinity College, 1900).

Ferree, Barr, Publisher, New York City.

Flick, Alexander Clarence, Methodist, layman; professor of European History in Syracuse University; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1901), Litt.D. (Otterbein University, 1904).

Forsander, Nils, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Theology in the Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill.; D.D. (Augustana College, 1894).

Fritschel, George John, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Church History, Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa.

Geer, Curtis Manning, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Medieval and Modern Church History, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1894).

Good, James Isaac, Reformed (German), Rev.; professor of Reformed Church History and Liturgics in the Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, O.; D.D. (Ursinus College, 1887); LL.D. (Ursinus College, 1911).

Greene, Evarts Boutell, Congregationalist, layman; professor of History, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois; Ph.D. (Harvard, 1893).

Greene, Walter Lackey, Seventh Day Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History and Religious Education in Alfred Theological Seminary, Alfred, N. Y.; B.D. (Alfred Theological Seminary, 1905).

GUMMEY, HENRY RILEY, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of St. James's Church, East Downingtown, Pa.; S.T.D. (in course, Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, 1905).

GUY, HARVEY HUGO, Disciple, Rev.; professor of the History of Christianity and the History of Religion, Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, California; B.D. (Drake University, 1895); Ph.D. (Yale University, 1902).

HAUGHWOUT, LEFFERD M. A., Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of Christ Church, Meadville, Pa.

HAYS, ARTHUR ALEXANDER, Presbyterian, Rev.; adjunct professor of Church History in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; B.D. (McCormick Seminary, 1909).

HERMAN, THEODORE FREDERICK, Reformed (German), Rev.; professor of Systematic Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed (German) Church, Lancaster, Pa.; D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, 1910).

HERRON, CHARLES, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History and Missions, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Omaha, Neb.; D.D. (Miami University, 1901; University of Pittsburgh, 1912).

HESSELGRAVE, CHARLES EVERETT, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor Centre Congregational Church, South Manchester, Conn.; B.D. (Drew Theological Seminary, 1900); Ph.D. (New York University, 1909).

HÖRMANN, ARTHUR, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of History Northwestern College, Watertown, Wis.; Ph.D. (Berlin, 1902).

HOOD, EDMUND LYMAN, Congregationalist, Rev.; president of Atlanta Theological Seminary; Ph.D. (New York University, 1899).

HORR, GEORGE EDWIN, Baptist, Rev.; President of Newton Theological Institution; D.D. (Brown University, 1896).

HOWLAND, ARTHUR CHARLES, professor of Medieval History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1897).

HULBERT, HENRY WOODWARD, Congregationalist, Rev.; Hartford, Conn.; D.D. (Middlebury College, 1900; Marietta College, 1900).

JACOBS, CHARLES MICHAEL, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Church History, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.; D.D. (Muhlenberg College, 1913).

JACOBS, HENRY EYSTER, Lutheran, Rev.; dean of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.; D.D. (Pennsylvania College, 1877); LL.D. (Thiel College, 1892); S.T.D. (Muhlenberg College, 1907).

JOHNSON, EDWARD PAYSON, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; professor of Church History and Church Government in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1896).

JOHNSON, JESSE, United Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History and Apologetics, Xenia Theological Seminary, Xenia, Ohio; D.D. (Grove City College, 1897).

JOHNSON, THOMAS CARY, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History and Polity in the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.; D.D. (Hampden-Sidney College, 1891), LL.D. (Hampden-Sidney College, 1899).

KEEP, AUSTIN BAXTER, Episcopalian, layman; member of Department of History, College of the City of New York; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1911).

LAMBERTON, CLARK DIVEN, Presbyterian, layman; instructor in Biblical Literature, Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio; graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, 1906; Ph.D. (Princeton University, 1908).

LEINBACH, PAUL SEIBERT, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; pastor Hamilton Grange Reformed Church, New York City; D.D. (Heidelberg University, Ohio, 1912).

LEONARD, WILLIAM ANDREW, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; Bishop of Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; D.D. (St. Stephen's College, Annandale, 1880; Washington and Lee University, 1885).

LIBRARY of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

LIBRARY of the General Theological Seminary, New York City.

LIBRARY of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

LOETSCHER, FREDERICK WILLIAM, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.; Ph.D. (Princeton University, 1906); D.D. (Lafayette College, 1914).

Logan, John Hubbard, Baptist; professor of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.; (diploma of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1904).

Lyttle, Charles Harold, Unitarian, Rev.; minister, Second Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.; S.T.B. (Meadville Theological School, 1910).

MacCracken, Henry Mitchell, Presbyterian, Rev.; chancellor of New York University, 1891–1910; D.D. (Wittenberg College, 1878), LL.D. (Miami University, 1887; New York University, 1910).

McGiffert, Arthur Cushman, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Ph.D. (Marburg, 1888), D.D. (Western Reserve University, 1892; Harvard University, 1906).

McGlothlin, William Joseph, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; D.D. (Bethel College, 1898), Ph.D. (Berlin, 1901), LL.D. (Furman University, 1909).

Macmillan, Kerr Duncan, Presbyterian, layman; president of Wells College, Aurora, New York; B.D. (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1897); S.T.D. (Hobart College, 1913).

Miller, Edward Waite, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; home secretary, Board of Foreign Missions, Reformed Church in America, New York City; D.D. (Union College, 1892).

Miller, Rufus Wilder, Reformed (German); secretary of Publication and Sunday-School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States; D.D. (Heidelberg University, Ohio, 1903; Lafayette College, 1907).

Mitchell, Edwin Knox, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Græco-Roman and Eastern Church History in Hartford Theological Seminary; D.D. (Marietta College, 1896).

Moldenhauer, J. Valdemar, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, N. Y.

Mudd, John A., Episcopalian, layman; Sheffield, Massachusetts; U. S. N.; sustaining member.

Muller, James Arthur, Episcopalian, Rev.; teaching fellow in Church History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; B.D. (*Ibid.*, 1910).

Newman, Albert Henry, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; LL.D. (Southwestern Baptist University, 1883), D.D. (Mercer University, 1885).

Nichols, Robert Hastings, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.; Ph.D. (Yale University, 1896).

Norcross, George, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor-emeritus of the Second Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa.; D.D. (Princeton College, 1879).

O'Connell, Dennis Joseph, Roman Catholic; bishop of Richmond; Richmond, Virginia; S.T.D. (Propaganda of Rome, 1877).

Paterson, Charles Gordon, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in San Francisco Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal.

Porter, Thomas Jackson, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Campinas, Est. de San Paolo, Brazil; Ph.D. (Westminster College, Pa., 1897).

Rauschenbusch, Walter, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History in Rochester Theological Seminary, N. Y.; D.D. (University of Rochester, 1902).

Reed, Richard Clark, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Columbia Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina; D.D. (King College, 1890), LL.D. (King College, 1906).

Rhinelander, Philip Mercer, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; bishop of Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, Pa.; D.D. (Columbia University, 1912).

Richards, George Warren, Reformed (German), Rev.; professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, Lancaster, Pa.; D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, 1902).

Riggs, James Forsyth, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, East Orange, N. J.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1892).

Robbins, Howard Chandler, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of the Church of the Incarnation, New York City; B.D. (Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, 1903).

ROBINSON, CHALFANT, assistant professor of History, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Ph.D. (Yale, 1902).

ROBINSON, JAMES HOWARD, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada; B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1911).

ROCKWELL, WILLIAM WALKER, Congregationalist, Rev.; assistant professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Lic. Th. (Marburg, 1903); Ph.D. (Göttingen, 1914).

ROWE, HENRY KALLOCH, Baptist; assistant professor of Church History, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass.; Ph.D. (Boston University, 1905).

RUSTON, WILLIAM OTIS, Presbyterian, Rev.; dean and professor of Sacred Languages and Literature, German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest, Dubuque, Iowa; D.D. (Lenox College, 1886), LL.D. (Lenox College, 1907).

SADLER, ALFRED JOHN, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Stamford, N. Y.; (diploma of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1904).

SCHAFF, DAVID SCHLEY, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.; D.D. (Illinois College, 1891; University of Geneva, Switzerland, 1909).

SCRATCHLEY, HENRY PETER, Episcopalian, Rev.; headmaster of St. John's School, Salina, Kansas.

SEVERANCE, ALLEN DUDLEY, Presbyterian; professor of History, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

SHELDON, HENRY CLAY, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Systematic Theology in Boston University; D.D. (Lawrence University, 1887).

SHOW, ARLEY BARTHLOW, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Medieval History in Stanford University, California.

SIMPSON, SAMUEL, Congregationalist, Rev.; Tolland, Conn.; Ph.D. (Hartford Theological Seminary, 1902).

SMITH, HEMAN C., Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Apostle; general historian of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Lamoni, Iowa.

SMITH, PRESERVED, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1907).

STAUFFER, VERNON, Disciple, Rev.; dean of Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio.

STEWART, MARSHALL BOWYER, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; B.D. (General Theological Seminary, 1906).

STEPHENS, HENRY MORSE, layman; professor of History, University of California, Berkeley, California; Litt.D. (Harvard, 1909).

STOUT, JAMES COFFIN, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Bible Teachers Training School of New York City; B.D. (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1910).

STUART, CHARLES MACAULAY, Methodist, Rev.; editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Chicago, Ill.; D.D. (Garrett Biblical Institute, 1885; Wesleyan University, 1906), Litt.D. (Syracuse University, 1904; Ohio Wesleyan University, 1909).

SULLIVAN, WILLIAM LAURENCE, Unitarian, Rev.; associate minister, All Souls' Church, New York City; S.T.L. (Catholic University of America, 1900).

SWING, ALBERT TEMPLE, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio; D.D. (Oberlin College, 1901).

THOMAS, ALLEN CLAPP, Friends; minister; emeritus professor of History, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

TIDBALL, THOMAS ALLEN, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.; D.D. (William and Mary College, 1878).

TRYON, HAROLD HARRISON, Presbyterian; instructor in Biblical Philology and Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; B.D. (*Ibid.*, 1904).

VEDDER, HENRY CLAY, Baptist; professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.; D.D. (University of Rochester, 1897).

WALKER, CURTIS HOWE, Congregationalist, layman; assistant professor of History, University of Chicago; Ph.D. (Yale, 1905).

WALKER, WILLISTON, Congregationalist; professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1888), D.D. (Western Reserve University, 1894; Amherst College, 1895; Yale University, 1901; University of Geneva, Switzerland, 1909; Harvard University, 1912).

WASHBURN, HENRY BRADFORD, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

WATERMAN, LUCIUS, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of St. Thomas's Church, Hanover, N. H.; D.D. (Trinity College, Hartford, 1892).

WEBER, HENRY JACOB, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Theology and Church History in the German Theological School of Newark, N. J. (Bloomfield, N. J.); Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1894), D.D. (German Theological School of Newark, N. J., 1909).

WILSON, JOHN A., United Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.; D.D. (Monmouth College, Illinois, 1887; Wooster University, Ohio, 1887; Amity College, Iowa, 1887); LL.D. (Wabash College, 1903).

*** Members are requested to communicate to the Secretary any corrections or additions to the data contained in this list.*

STATISTICS OF MEMBERSHIP.

	Living	Deceased
1908 (Vol. I.)	61	4
1910 (Vol. II.)	60	14
1912 (Vol. III.)	90	15
1914 (Vol. IV.)	117[1]	18

[1] Including three Libraries.

DECEASED MEMBERS

ALLEN, ALEXANDER VIETS GRISWOLD, died in Cambridge, Mass., Wednesday, July 1, 1908.

BACON, LEONARD WOOLSEY, died at Assonet, Mass., Sunday, May 12, 1907.

COE, EDWARD BENTON, died in New York City, Thursday, March 19, 1914.

CORWIN, EDWARD TANJORE, died at North Branch, N. J., Monday, June 22, 1914.

DRURY, JOHN BENJAMIN, died in New Brunswick, N. J., Sunday, March 21, 1909.

EWELL, JOHN LEWIS, died in Washington, D. C., Wednesday, March 16, 1910.

HULBERT, ERI BAKER, died in Chicago, Ill., Sunday, February 17, 1907.

JACKSON, GEORGE ANSON, died at Swampscott, Mass., Wednesday, May 8, 1907.

JACKSON, SAMUEL MACAULEY, died at Washington, Conn., Friday, August 2, 1912.

KROTEL, GOTTLOB FREDERICK, died in New York City, Friday, May 17, 1907.

LEA, HENRY CHARLES, died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, October 24, 1909.

LEWIS, ABRAM HERBERT, died at Westerly, R. I., Tuesday, November 3, 1908.

NICUM, JOHN, died in Rochester, N. Y., Monday, November 1, 1909.

ROGERS, JAMES WILLIAM, died at Walton, Ky., 1910.

SCOTT, HUGH MCDONALD, died in Chicago, Ill., Thursday, April 29, 1909.

SPAETH (PHILIP FRIEDRICH) ADOLPH (THEODOR), died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, June 26, 1910.

SPIEKER, GEORGE FREDERICK, died at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, September 7, 1913.

TIFFANY, CHARLES COMFORT, died at Northeast Harbor, Me., Tuesday, August 20, 1907.

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